VOLUME XIII   MARCH 1960   No. 1

INDO-IRANICA

The Quarterly Organ of the Iran Society

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STUDY OF INDIAN FLORA IN INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE

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As the Muslim conquerors of India from Arabia. Afghanistan, and Central Asia in Medieval times represented an altogether different culture and civilisation, they at first did not feel happy in this distant land. But gradually, the glorious beauty of the fair and fertile country of India presented a wonderful picture before their eyes. This land of mists, thick clouds, copious rains, the snow-covered mountain peaks, the swift running rivers and again its green cultivated fields, its orchards, laden with all sorts of delicious fruits, its gardens blossoming with a variety of sweet—scented beautiful flowers and lovely foliage soon attracted their attention. They were so deeply impressed by the charms of Nature in India that they made up their mind to settle down here permanently, in many cases even completely forgetting their homeland. To many of them India was a Paradise of fruits and flowers, and not a few of them have given admirable pictures of Indian flora. In Persian literature specially we come across many picturesque details drawn with a passion and fervour that can emanate only from a patriotic heart.

Amir Khusrau in his mathnavi *Qiran-us-Sa'dain* and *Dewalrani* has referred to a large number of plants and flowers, which decorated the gardens of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi. They were Sarv (Cypress), Shamshad, Sunbul, Chunar, Baid, Gurba-i-Baid amongst the plants. Sausan (iris), Saman, Banafsha Kabud (Blue Violet), Nargis, (Narcissus) Gul-i-Surkh (Red flower) Raihan (Sweet basil), Gul-i-Kuza, Gul-i-Bela, Gul-i-Zairin (Golden flower), Gul-i-Lal (Red flower), Gul-i-Sufaid (White rose), Sipar-i-Ghum, Sudburg, Nastran, Yasamin (Jasmine), Dauna, Karna, Nilofur, Dhak, Champa, Juhi, Kiura (Screw pine), Sewti, Gulab (Rose), Baila, and Mulsari etc. According to Amir Khusrau, Banafsha, Yasamin, and Nasrin had been brought to India from Persia. About other flowers, he says, they were purely Indian.

He has versified the beauties and qualities of some of these flowers. For example he writes of Gul-i-Kuza:

بتری آب را در کوزه کـــرده　　لطافت آب ازو دریوزه کـــرده

(The cleanliness of water has been transformed in Kuza, but the freshness of water has been begged from this flower).

And then he praises Gul-i-Sudourg, and says that both these flowers are purely Indian, although their names are Persian.

اگرچه پارسی نامند اینها   ولی در هند زادند از زمینها

As regards Bail he says that it has broad forehead and in one flower there are seven flowers:

ازین سو بیل پیشانی کشاده   بیک گل هفت گل برهم نهاده

And for Juhi he writes that it is heart-bewitching, and a vision for lovers and all hearts:

و زان سو دلربائی عاشقان جائی   همه تن بهر دلها را شده جائی

And for Kiura he says that the garment of beloveds gets scented from this; even if it gets dry after two years, its fragrance remains fresh. The garment, which gets scented from it, has the perfume even when it is torn out:

ز بویش حلهٔ خوبان معطر   دو ساله خشک و بویش همچنان تر
هر آن جامه که از وی بو گرفته   دریده جامه و بویش نرفته

He calls Rai Champa the king of the flowers, the scent of which is musk-laden like wine; it is delicate like a beloved, who has body like a Jasamine; but its colour is pale like the face of a lover and oil is extracted out of these flowers, and the head is affected by it more than is done by musk:

دگر آن رای چمپا شاه گلها   که بویش مشکبار آمد چو ملها
چو معشوق سمن بر ناز پرورد   ولی رنگش چو روئی عاشقان زرد
بروغن پرورندش بهر سرها   که از مشک تر گیرد اثرها

He calls Mulsari active in appearance, although its leaves are small and delicate and it is liked by all friends and hearts:

بهیئت چست و برگش خرد و باریک   بهر حبیب و بدلها نیک نزدیک

He calls Duna the Sweet basil of India, the smell of which is much likeable.

دگر دونه که آن ریحان هند ست   ز تر بویش در خورد پسند ست

He liked Karna much, so he says once its smell is spread, it gets houses and lanes scented:

دگر کرنه که چون زو جست بوئی   معطر گردد از یک خانه کوئی

And he says that a wasp gives its life in love of Sewti, and even when it dies, it does not like to be away from it, and all the beautiful

ones are in search of it like lovers, and this flower is beloved among the beloveds:

زعشق بوئی او جان داده زنبور　　نگشته بعد مردن نیز ازو دور
همه خوبانش عاشق وار جویان　　که معشوقیست نزد خوبرویان

And in the end he gives Indian flowers preference to all the foreign flowers, and says that the reputation of India suffered from undue modesty in this respect, otherwise each and every flower of it is like the garden of a paradise and if Syria or Rome were in possession of such a treasure they would have trumpeted out their glory all over the world.[1]

Barani in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* mentions a large number of flowers and fruits, which were seen in the Indian gardens viz Gul-i-Lal, Gul-i-Sudburg, Gul-i-Karna, Sewti, pomegranates, grapes, apples, melons, Turanj (orange), Junhari (grape-fruit), figs, lemons, karna, Jhong, mangoes, baqta, sugar-cane, khirni, jamun, Indian dates, jack fruits etc.[2]

Shams Siraj Afif says that Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq had great liking for the laying of gardens which he took great pains to embellish. He laid out 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Delhi, eighty on the Salora embankment and forty-four in Chittor. This extraordinary interest of the Sultan in gardening led to a general improvement in the quality of fruits. For example, seven varieties of grapes, white, black, Khurmai, Chittori, Arghawani, Sairi, Alu, Egg-like were cultured and they were sold at the rate of one jital per seer.[3] Among the other fruits mentioned by Afif are Sadaphal, Narang (orange) and Sikandar Awwal.[4] The latter one seems to be a strange fruit, not perhaps available now. According to *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, special attention was paid to improve the quality of pomegranates in Jodhpur, and Sikandar Lodi confidently declared that Persia could not produce pomegranates which would compare favourably with the Jodhpur variety in flavour and sweetness.[5]

Masalik-ul-Absar, written in Arabic in Egypt, also refers to varieties of flowers seen in India viz, roses, water-lily, violet, ban (nutmeg), Egyptian willows, narcissus (also called Abbar), Jasamine, henna plant. The author of the above work gives the names of a large number of fruits also available in Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq's times.

1 For details vide Amir Khusrau's *Dewalrani*, p. 129-132 ;
2 *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Zia-ud-Din Barani, p. 569, 570;
3 *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Shams Siraj Afif, p. 295, 296;
4 Afif, p. 128.
5 *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 76, Aligarh Edition.

They were figs, grapes, pomegranates (sweet, sour and acid); bananas, peaches, citrons, lemons, limes, oranges, sycamores, black mulberies, waterlemons, yellow and green cucumbers, and melons. "Besides these, there were," writes the same author, "other fruits which were not known in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, viz mangoes, mahwa, laha, naghzak and other excellent and delightful fruits."[1]

We get only casual references of these flowers in the Indo-Persian literature of the Pre-Mughal period, but richer and more elaborate informations of these Indian products are available in the books of the Mughal period, especially in *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

Tuzuk-i-Babari was, of course, written in Turki, but it remained for a long time unknown until it was transposed into the more popular language of Iran. Leyden and Erskine introduced it to the English knowing readers by translating it into English through a Persian copy of the Memoirs. But Mrs. A. S. Beveridge translated the record direct from the original Turki, and this translation is now very popular amongst the scholars and historians of Mughal history of India. But Persian translation made by the eminent scholar-poet Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan is still regarded as no less interesting work than the original work. Urdu translation of the *Tuzuk* has been made through the Persian version.

This Tuzuk is valued not only for the political and historical transactions which it records, but it abounds in statistics of geographical, zoological and botanical accounts, which evidently display the writer as a man of genius and observations. At times he furnishes us with the most remarkable pieces of botanical statistics, the minute description of which, as Sir Henory Elliot says, would make no contemptible figure in a modern work of natural history. He does not indulge any where in flowery phraseology and hyperbole, but writes every thing in clear, simple and racy language, void of superfluous words and pompous declamations. His style helps him very much in giving us botanical statistics in a few choicest words. He was a great lover of foliage and flowers, and amidst the toils and passions of his existence, he found gardens earthly paradises, where he passed his time in company with his friends in pleasure, enjoyment and carousing. Even when he risked a great peril, he never failed to visit gardens of the cities he passed through. So he has referred to a large number of gardens in his Memoirs. In the year 1497 when he visited Samarkand, he enjoyed

1 *Masalik-ul-Absar Fi Mamalik-il-Amsar*, English translation p. 21, Lahore.

pleasant moment, in its various gardens, Bagh-i-Buland, Bagh-i-Dilkusha, Bagh-i-Chunar, Bagh-i-Bahisht etc. In Bagh-i-Dilkusha, he was pleased to see an avenue of white poplar.[1] And when he was in Kabul, he describes a large number of fruits of hot and cold climates available there viz., grape, pomegranate, apricot, apple, quince, pear, peach. plum, sinjid, almond, walnut, orange, citron, amluk and sugar-cane. He studied all these fruits very minutely without caring for his elevated royal position, trying at the same time to improve their varieties by transfering them from one region to another. He says that it was he who planted sugar-cane in Lamghanat. And in Kabul, he imported alu-balu (a kind of plum) from outside and planted it there, which according to him, grew and did well. He built ten gardens in Kabul, including the one which contains his grave, and also the Garden of Fidelity, in which, as he tells us, oranges, citrons and pomegrantes grew in abundance. After visiting this he writes, its lawns are one sheet of clover, its pomegranate trees yellowed to autumn splendour, their fruit full red, fruit on the orange-trees green and pleasant, countless oranges, but not yet as yellow as our hearts desired'. His another favourite spot in Kabul was the Fountain of the Three Friends, round which he made an irrigated pleasaunce. " If the world over," he exclaims " there is a place to match this, when the arghwans (judas-trees) are in full bloom, I do not know it."

And when he came to India, he studied its fruits and flowers with the minutest details. Mango, he says, is the best fruit of Hindustan, and is given preference to all fruits. But in his patrotic feeling he did not like to think a mango better then the musk melon of Kabul.[2] In introducing it to his own countrymen he says that 'it resembles Kardi peach, and ripens in the rain. It is eaten in two ways; one is to squeeze it to a pulp, make a hole in it and suck out the juice—the other, to peel and eat it like the Kardi peach. Its tree grows very large, and has a leaf somewhat resembling the peach trees." Babur did not see beautiful mango trees in the vicinity of Agra or Fatehpur, so he writes that the trunk of a mango tree is ill-looking and ill-shaped, but in Bengal

1 *Memoirs*, p. 78, Beveridge, Vol. I.

2 Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari* says, however, that this fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell and taste, and some of the gourmets of Turan and Iran place it above muskmelons and grapes. Abul Fazl's description of mangoes is more graphic and lively than Babur. Unlike Babur, he writes the trees looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a walnut tree and its leaves resemble those of the willow, but are larger. The new leaves appear soon after the fall of the old ones in autumn, and look green and yellow, orange, peach-coloured, and bright red. The flower, which opens in spring, resembles that of the vine, has a good smell, and looks very curious.

and Gujrat is heard of as growing handsome. He adds that self-grown mango trees do not bear good fruits. And then, he says, they are usually plucked unripe and ripened in the house on pal, and from unripe mangoes they make excellent condiments which are preserved in syrup and honey.

Plantain is a very common fruit in India, but the lively description given by Babur is an interesting study. Its tree, he writes, is not very tall, indeed is not to be called a tree, since it is something between a grass and a tree. Its leaf is a little like that of the aman-qara but grows about 2 yards long and nearly one broad. Out of the middle of its leaves rises, heart-like, a bud, which resembles a sheep's heart. As each leaf (petal) of this bud expands, there grows at its base a row of six or seven flowers which become the plantains. These flowers become visible with the lengthening of the heart-like shoot and the opening of the petals of the bud. The tree is understood to flower once only. The fruit has two pleasant qualities, one that it peels easily and the other that it has neither stone nor fibre. It is rather longer and thinner than the egg-plant. It is not very sweet,[1] but the Bengal plantain *i.e.* chini champa is however said to be very sweet. The plantain is a very good looking-tree, its broad, beautiful and green leaves have an excellent appearance.

After plantain he describes the tamarind. He liked the beauty of this tree, and so he writes 'it is a very good looking tree, giving dense shade, and grows wild in masses too'. As regards its leaves, he says that it has finely-cut leaves precisely like those of the Turkish tree buia (a leguminous plant) except that they are not so finely cut.

The description of Mahuwa (Bassia lotifolia), as given by Babur, is as accurate as can be had from any modern critical observer. He says that spirit is distilled from its flowers which are also dried and eaten like raisins. The dried flowers taste just like kishmish, they have an ill-flavour. The flowers are not bad in their natural state, they are eatable. Its tree grows wild also. Its fruit is tasteless; has rather a large seed with a thin husk, and from this seed, again, oil is extracted.

Even the insignificant Indian fruit Khirni (known in English mimusops) did not remain unnoticed by Babur. He describes it as yellow in colour and thinner than the red jujube, having a thin husk of

1 Urdu version: it is very sweet and plantains of Bengal still sweeter p. 282, but the Persian text says.

خیلی شیرین نمی شود وکیله های بنگاله بسیار شیرین می شده

its stone; and he is quite true in saying that it has just the grape's flavour, but differs in bad after-taste.

Jamun (Eugenia Jambolana) was not platable to him, although he was not critical of the beauty of its tree. Its leaf, writes he, except for being thicker and greener, is quite like the willows, and its fruit is like a black grape, sourish, so not very good.

He found Qamrak (Averrhoa Carambola) tasty, so there is a bit of liveliness in his account when he says that its fruit is five-sided, about as large as the ain-alu, and some three inches long; it ripens to yellow; gathered unripe, it is very bitter; gathered ripe, its bitterness gets sub-acid, not bad, not wanting in pleasantness.

Babur's description of jack-fruit is very comprehensive and says with all minuteness and reality that this is a fruit of singular form and flavour; it looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis, and it is sickeningly sweet. Inside it are filbert-like stones, which, on the whole, resemble dates, but are round, not long, and have softer substance; these are eaten. The Jack-fruit is very adhesive, for this reason people are said to oil mouth and hands before eating it. It is heard of also as growing not only on the branches of its tree, but on trunk and root too. One would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises.

Commenting on monkey-jack, he says that the fruit is of the size of a quince, and when it is unripe it is singularty tasteless, but as soon as it ripens, it can be pulled to pieces and eaten any where; it tastes very much like a rotten quince, and has an excellent little austere flavour.

He refers to different kinds of lote-fruit but in this reference his astronomical observations on this fruit and its tree are worthy of greater notice. He mentions that when the sun enters into the Zodiac Bull and Twins, the lote-tree sheds its leaves, and burgeons under Crab and Lion when the leaves become fresh and green; and its fruits ripen when the sun enters into Bucket, *i.e.* Aquarius and Fish.

Karaunda, (Caressa Carandas) he says, grows in bushes in plains, and is like the rhubarb in flavour but sweeter and less jucy.

After this, he describes quite a strange fruit, which according to the Persian text is Basila, but Mrs. Beveridge spells Paniyala, and the Urdu version transliterates Nisala. Elphinstone says that this fruit in Persian was called as falsa but the description given by Babur is not of the Indian Falsa. He states that it is larger than the plum and like the red—apple unripe it is little austere and good; its tree is taller than

the pomegranate, and its leaf is like that of the almond tree but smaller. Abul Fazl says in *Ain-i-Akbari* that Paniyala resembles the Zard alu (which according to Blochmann is the acid apricot) and its tree the lime tree; the leaves are like those of the willow; when unripe the fruit is green and red when ripe.

Guiar *i.e.* clustered fig was not liked by Babur, so in describing it he states that the fruit grows out of the tree-trunk, and resembles the fig, but is singularly tasteless.

But he found Amla (myrobalan) a useful[1] fruit, which according to him, is five-sided, although it is six straited. He adds that it looks like the unblown cotton-pod, and is an astringent and ill-flavoured thing, but confiture made of it is not bad. Its tree is of excellent form and has very minute leaves.

Chirunji (Buchanania latifolia), as described by Babur, is smaller than pistachio and round. From its kernel come out things like walnut and almond, which people put in custards and sweetmeets. Abul Fazl calls this fruit Piyar also, which he describes brownish and sweet, resembling a small grape.

Date-palm of better qualities is not produced in India, still Babur's description of the fruit and its tree may be an interesting reading for even a botanist. He observes that its branches grow from just one place at its top; its leaves grow on both sides of the branches from neck to tip; its trunk is rough and ill-coloured; its fruit is like a bunch of grapes, but much larger. People say that the date-palm amongst vegetables resembles an animal in two respects: one is that, as, if an animal's head be cut off, its life is taken, so it is with the date palm, if its head is cut off, it dries off; the other is that, as the offspring of animals is not produced without the male, so too with the date--palm, it gives no good fruit unless a branch of the male-tree be brought into touch with the female tree. The above mentioned head of the date---palm is called its cheese. The trees so grow that where its leaves came out is cheese--white, the leaves becoming green as they lengthen. This white part, the so-called cheese, is tolerable eating, not bad, much like the walnut. People make a wound in the cheese and into this wound insert a leaflet in such a way that all liquid flowing from the wound runs down it. The tip of the leaflet is set over the mouth of a pot suspended to the tree in such a way that it collects whatever liquor is yielded by

1 Persian and Urdu versions say 'useful' but Mrs. Beveridge translates 'wholesome.'

the wound. This liquor is rather pleasant if drunk atonce; if drunk after two or three days, people say it is quite exhilarating.

And no less interesting observation is of co-conut palm. Babur states that its fruit is the Hindi nut, from which black spoons are made and the larger ones of which serve for guitar-bodies. The coco-palm has general resemblance to the date-palm, but has more and more glistening leaves. Like the walnut, the coconut has a green outer husk, but its husk is of fibre on fibre. All ropes for ships and boats and also cord for sewing boat-seams are heard of as made from these husks. The nut, when stripped of its husk, near one end shows a triangle of hollows, two of which are solid, the third a nothing, easily pierced. Before the kernel forms, there is fluid inside; people pierce the soft hollow and drink this; it tastes like date—palm cheese in solution and is not bad. Abul Fazl, while giving these details, adds that the tree bears fruit throughout the year, and the fruits ripens in three months. There are nuts having one, two, three and four holes or eyes; each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the first being considered the best. Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison. The nuts weigh sometimes twelve seers and upwards.

The 'tar' *i.e.* the palmyra palm appeared to Babur quite a queer and strange tree. So he says that for about a yard along its branches *i.e.* leaf-stems, there is no leaf, above this, at the tip of the branch (stem) 30 or 40 leaves open out like the spread palm of the hand, all from one place. These leaves approach a yard in length. People often write Hindi character on them after the fashion of the account rolls. And just as with the date-palm, people hang a pot on it and take the juice and drink it. They call this liquor tari; it is said to be more exhilarating than the date—liquor.

Babur describes varieties of Indian oranges with all the accuracies of their differences. (1) Narang or Naranj is about as large as a quince, very juicy and more acid than other oranges (2) Limu is of the size of a hen's eggs and of the same shape. If a person poisoned drinks the water in which its fibres have been boiled, danger is averted, (3) Turunj (*i.e.* citron) is of two kinds; one is sweet, flavourless, nauseating, not edible but its peels are good for marmalade; the other is acid, quite deliciously acid and makes excellent sharbat, well-flavoured and wholesome drinking. It has a thick skin, wrinkled and uneven, with one end thinner and beaked. It is deeper yellow than the naranj. Its tree has no trunk, is rather low, grows in bushes and has a larger leaf than the orange. (4) Sangtara resembles the Naranj. It is like the turanj in colour and form, but has both ends of its skin level; also it is not

rough and is some what the smaller fruit. Its tree ir as large as the apricot with leaf like the Narang. It is a deliciously acid fruit; making a very pleasant and wholesome sharbat. Like the lime (lemu) it is a powerful stomachic but not weakening like the naranj. (5) Galgal, resembling the Narang, has the shape of a gooses' egg, but unlike that egg does not taper to the ends. Its skin is smooth like the sangtaras, and it is remarkably juicy. (6) Janbiri lime is orange-shaped, and though yellow, not orange-yellow. It smells like the turunj, and is deliciously acid (7) Sadaphal is pear-shaped, colours like the quince, ripens sweet, but not to the sickly-sweetness of the naranj (8) Amrd phal is like a narang. (9) Karna resembles naranj and is as large as the galgal and is also acid. Abul Fazl says that this fruit appears in its tree after it has reached the third year. At first the fruit is green, sour and also somewhat bitter, but turns afterwards yellow and bitter. When ripe it is red and sweet. When it is kept long, it turns green again. The tree looks like an orange tree, but the leaves are somewhat broader and the buds like fine arrows. The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell and is used for ambergris. (10) Amalbid is like a naranj. They say if a needle is put inside it, it melts away either from its acidity or other property. It is as acid as the citron (turunj) and lemon (lemu).

Babur has not been able to describe all the varieties of Indian flowers. He could give pen-pictures of only five flowers (1) Jasun (2) Kaner (3) Kiura (4) Kaitki and (5) Champa. By Jasun he means gurhal. Its tree, he writes, is rather taller than the bush of the red-rose and it is fuller in colour than that of the pomegranate and may be of the size of the red-rose, but the red-rose, when its bud has grown, opens simply, whereas, when the Jasun bud opens, a stem on which other petals grow, is seen like a heart amongst its expanded petals. Though the two are parts of the one flower, yet the outcome of the lengthening and thinning of that stem-like heart of the first opened-petals give the semblance of two flowers. The beautifully coloured flowers look very well on the tree, but they do not last long; they fade just in one day. They blossom very well through the four months of the rains; they seem indeed to flower all through the year; with this profusion however, they give no perfume.

The Kaner (oleander), writes Babur, grows both red and white. Like the peach—flower, it is five petalled. It is like the peach-bloom in colour, but opens 14 or 15 flowers from one place, so that seen from a distance, they look like one great flower. The oleander-bush is taller than the rose-bush. Like the Jasun it also blooms well, and profusely in the rains, and it also is found through most of the year.

Kiura attracted Babur's notice much and he prefers it to musk, and so he says that musk has the defect of being dry, and kiura may be called moist musk having a very agreeable perfume. He adds that its tree has singular appearance, having flower 13½ to 18 inches long. And its further description shall probably give much useful information to a student of natural history. He states that it has long leaves, having the character of the reed gharua and having spines. Of these leaves, while pressed together bud-like, the outer ones are the greener and more spiny: the inner ones are soft and white. In amongst these inner leaves grow things like what belongs to the middle of a flower, and from these things comes the excellent perfume. When the tree first comes up not yet showing any trunk, it is like the bush of the male-reed, but with wider and more spiny leaves. What serves it for a trunk is very shapeless, its roots remaining shown. Further useful information may be had from the description of Abul Fazl, who says that in the midst of the flower, there is a small branch with honey—coloured threads, not without smell. The flower smells even after it is withered. Hence people put it into clothes when the perfume remains for a long time. The storm of the tree is above four yards high, the leaves are like those of the maize, only longer and triangular with three thorns in each corner. It flowers from the fourth year. Every year they put new earth round about the roots. The plant is chiefly found in the Deccan, Gujrat, Malwa and Bihar.

Babur gives description of Kaitki also, which has been glossed over in A. S. Bevridges' English translation. Kaitki, writes Babur, resembles Kiura, but its flowers are shorter in size than Kiura. Its colour is deep yellow, and has light perfume.

Babur then describes Chambeli, which he calls white Jasamine, and characterises it as larger in size than the Yasman flower of his own country, and more strongly scented. Abul Fazl says that there are two kinds of Chambeli: (1) The Ray Chambeli has from five to six petals, and its outer colour is red. (2) The Chambeli proper is smaller and has on the top a red stripe. Its stem is one and a half or two yards high and trails over the ground. It has many long and broad branches. It flowers from the first year of its plantation.

And then Babur gives the description of Champa, which has been wrongly intermixed in A. S. Biveridge's translation with Yasman. The Champa tree, according to Babur, is high and beautiful and its flower has agreeable perfume, and its leaves resemble the leaves of violet or narcicuss. The colour of the flower is yellow, and is very

much like Sausan, although the latter is of larger size.' Abul Fazl says that it flowers after seven years.

The above picturesque description of fruits and flowers show clearly that Babur had an elegant as well as superb horticultural taste, and in the midst of toils and turmoils of the busy life of a warrior—king, he tried to naturalise some valuable fruits and plants in places to which they had been formerly strangers. He planted in one of the Agra gardens areca nut-palms, which reached the height of 90 ft. in the reign of his great-grandson. He obtained hundreds of pine-apples yearly in another of his garden Gul Afshan and feasted his eyes on a wealth of crimson cleanders, which he had transplanted from Gwalior, and he speaks in another place of getting good grapes from the vines which he planted in Bagh-i-Hasht Bahisht (Garden of Eight Paradises).[1]

Babur's description of Indian fruits and flowers are obviously exhaustive and comprehensive, but he has failed to describe a greater number of fruit and flowers, the fuller accounts of which are found in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari.* We would like to gather here some of these observations also from this great writer of the Mughal period. In giving below the details, help has been taken from H. Blochmann's English translation of Ain-i-Akbari also.

(1) Pineapple is also called Kathal-i-Safari or travelling jackfruits, because young plant, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange and in taste and smell, a mango. The plant is about a yard long and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out these leaves, separate them and put them singly into the ground; they are the seedling. Each plant bears only once and one fruit only. (2) The Bholsari tree is large and handsome, and its fruit has an orange colour and resembles the jujube. (3) The paniyala fruit resembles the Zardalu (acid apricot) and its tree the lime tree; the leaves are like those of the willow. When unripe the fruit is green, and red when ripe. (4) The Gumbhi has a stem, the branches of which are like creepers; its leaves and fruits, as those of the Kunar, come from below the roots. (5) The Tarri forms

1 Details of Babur's description of Indian fruits and flowers have been culled and gleaned from A. S. Beveridges English translation of *Babur Namah* after comparing and verifying them with Persian text as well as Urdu translation by M. Nasir-ud-Din Haider, vide A. S. Beveridge's translation pp. 503-515, and Urdu translation p. 282-88. The reference of the Persian text is from the manuscript, preserved in the Library of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

at the root, it grows mostly in the mountains and weighs a maund, more or less, when the creeper is a year old; and two, when two years old. It looks like a millstone. When older it grows larger according to the same proportion. Its leaves resemble those of the water-melons. (6) The piyar is like a small grape; brownish and sweet. The inside of the kernel is like butter and is used in the preparation of food; it is also called Chiraunji. Its tree is about a yard high. (7) The Singhara is a traingular fruit; its creeper grows in tank and the fruit is on the surface of the water. It is eaten raw or roasted. (8) The Salak grows in tanks under the earth. They go into the water and dig it up. (9) The Kaseru grows in tanks. When the water gets low, they take it out of the ground and eat it, raw or boiled. (10) The Siyali is long and conical; the plant is a creeper to whose root the fruit is attached.

Abul Fazl includes sugarcane and betel leaf also in his list of Indian fruits and describes their features. He has devoted a sufficiently long space to tell us the process, according to which sugarcane is used for preparation of intoxicating liquor. Similarly he gives an account of the varieties of betel leaf viz Bilahri, Kaker, Jaiswar, Kapuri, Kapurkant, Bangla, Karhanj, Gadauta, Nauti, Bahuti, Adhinida, Aghaniya, Peri etc.

The Indian flowers, which Babur fails to mention, are described in fuller details by Abul Fazl. They are too many viz. (1) Sewti resembles Gul-i-Surkh but is smaller. It has in the middle golden stamens and from four to six petals. (2) The Raybel resembles the Jasamine, and is of various kinds, single and double etc. A quintuple is very common, so that each petal might he separated as a distinct flower. Its stem grows a yard high, and its leaves resemble those of a lime-tree (3) Mungra resembles the Raybel. It is larger but inferior in perfume. It has more than a hundred petals; the plant grows to a large tree. (4) Chalta resembles a large tulip. It consists of eigheen petals, six green ones above, six others, some red, some green, some greyish yellow and six white. In the midst of the flower, as in the flower called Hamesha Bahar, there are nearly two hundred little yellow eaves, with a red globule in the centre. The flower remains quite fresh for five or six days after being plucked. It smells like the violet. When withered the flower is cooked and eaten. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree; and its leaves look like that of the lime juice. It blooms in seven years. (5) Tasbih Gulal has a fine smell. Its petals have the form of a dagger. It flowers after four years. They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week. (6) Bholsari is a lower also. We have mentioned it above in the list of fruits too. Its lower is smaller than the Jasmine and its petals are indented. When

dry the flower smells better. The tree resembles the walnut tree and and flowers in the tenth year. (7) The Singarhar, is shaped like a clove and has an orange-coloured stalk. The stamens look like poppy seeds, and the leaves are like the leaves of a peach tree. It flowers in five years. (8) Kuza looks like a rose. It has a hundred petals and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make scented perfumes out of it. (9) The Padal has five or six long petals. It gives water an agreeable flavour and smell. The leaves and the stem are like those of nut tree. It flowers in the 12th year. (10) The Juhi, most commonly found, flowers in three years. (11) The Niwari flowers in the first year. (12) The Kapur Bel has five petals and resembles the saffron flower. But this was a flower brought from Europe and naturalised in India in Akbar's reign. (13) The Aftabi, having a large number of petals, turns continually to the sun. Its stem reaches a height of three yards. (14) The Kanwal is of two kinds. One opens with the rays of the sun and closes at night. It resembles the anemone (shaqayaq) but the redness of its colour is a little bit paler. Its petals are never less than six in number, enclose yellow stamens, in the midst of which there is an excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit and contains the seeds. The other kind has four white petals, opens at nights and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close. (15) The Jafari is a round flower and grows larger than the Sadbarg. One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards. The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented. It flowers in two months. (16) The Gudhal resembles the Jughasu tulip. Its stem reaches a height of two yards and upwards; the leaves look like mulberry trees. It flowers in two years. (17) The Ratan-manjani, resembling the Ray-bel, has four petals. It flowers in two years. (18) The Kesu has five petals resembling a tiger's claw. In their midst is a yellow stamen of the shape of a tongue. When it flowers, it looks as if blazing fire is surrounding a scenery. (19) The Kaner is poisonous. It has five petals, and its plant grows to a height of two yards. (20) The Kadam resembles a tumagha (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of a walnut tree. (21) The Nagkesar has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It flowers in seven years. (22) The Surpan resembles the sesame flower and has yellow stamens in the middle. The stem resembles the Hina plant, and the leaves those of the willow. (23) The Sirkhandhi is like the Chambeli, but smaller. It flowers in two years. (24) The Hina has four petals, having flower of a different colour. (25) The Dupahriya is so called because it opens at noon. It resembles Hamesha Bahar. (26) The Bhun Champa resembling Nilufar, is found in a water-logged area and blooms

above the water. (27) The Sudarsan looks like the Susan flower, having yellow threads inside, (28) The Senbal has five long petals. (29) The Ratanmala is round and small. Its juice, boiled and mixed with vitriol and bastard saffron, furnishes a fast dye for stuffs. And when butter, sesame, oil are also boiled together with the root of the plant, the mixture becomes a purple dye. (30) The Sunzard resembles the Jasmine and has five or six petals. It flowers in two years. (31) The Malti is like the Chambeli, but smaller. It has in the middle little stamens looking like poppy seed. It flowers in about two years. (32) Karil has three small petals. It flowers luxuriantly and presents highly refreshing sight. The flower is also boiled and eaten, and they also make pickles of it. (33) The Jait looks like tamarind leaves. (34) The chanpala is like a a nosegay. The bark of the plant, when boiled in water, makes the water red. It grows chiefly in hills, its wood burns bright like a candle. Other flowers described by Abul Fazl are the Lahi, the Karaunda, the Dhanantar the Siras, the Kangla, the San, after which he says, "it is really difficult for me to give a description of all the flowers of this country! I have mentioned a few for those who wish to know some thing about them." Besides the above indigeneous flowers many more foreign ones were imported from Iran and Turan and naturalised in India. They were the Gul-i-Surkh, the Nargis, the Violet, the Yasman Kabud, the Susan the Rayhan, the Rana, the Zeba, the Shaqayiq, the Taj-i-Khurus, the Qalgha, the Nafarman, the Khatimi etc.[1]

Jahangir has also recorded his observations of flowers and fruits in his autobiography, which show, clearly that he, like Babur, had shrewd intelligence and keen sense of perception in studying natural objects. "During the reign of my father," writes he, "most of the fruits of foreign countries which did not grow in India, were collected. All sorts of grapes, such as the Sahibi, the Habashi and Kishmishi became common in certain cities, so that in bazars of Lahore in the grape season all sorts are to be found." Pineapple was also not grown in India but when it was naturalised here, it grew in thousands in Mughal gardens. For the first time in Akbar's reign, Muhammad Quli Afshar, the Superintendent of gardens in Kashmir, grafted cherry by importing it from Kabul, after which it became common in India. He also made apricot trees known in India. Filbert and Sandal woods were foreign to India, but they were commonly grown in Akbar's days. The cypress, white poplar, plane trees, pines were also naturalised in Indian gardens. Jahangir got unusually interested in the exceeding growth and size of one or other trees and fruits. For example, he found out that pomegranate could be

1 Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* p. 49-53, 59-69 Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow and Blochmann, pp. 87-93.

as big as to weigh 40 tolas. He received from Fatehpur a watermelon which weighed 33 seers. In the eleventh year of his accession, when he went to Sheikhupur he found a very large and bulky banyan tree. The circumference of its trunk was eighteen yards and the height of the tree was 128 yards, and a branch of the tree, which projected like the tusks of elephants, measured 40 yards. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 178). In the same year he knew of a date-tree which was 60 yards high. The original tree had one trunk. When it grew to six yards, it turned into two branches, both of which were about ten yards in length. Jahangir asked his painter to draw its picture and got it included in his Tuzuk. (p. 174). As regards the Indian flowers, Jahangir describes them in rapturous delight and goes actually into ecstacies while describing their charms and beauties. " For the sweetness of the scents," writes he, " the odoriferous flowers of India surpass the flowers of the whole cultivated world." After this he draws picturesque pen-pictures of Champah, Kiura, Mulsari, Sewti etc. He thought the scarlet blossom of the dhak or palam tree so beautiful that one can not take one's eyes of it. In Kashmir he enjoyed the natural scenery of the flowers in the spring season, when the hills and plains were with blossoms, and the gates, the walls, the court yards and the roofs were lighted by the torches of banquet—adorning tulips. The finest inflorescence amongst these flowers, according to Jahangir, was that of the almond and the peach, and to him tulip looked exceedingly beautiful, and Chambeli most sweet-scented. He saw there several kinds of red roses, of which he liked the one having the colour of sandal-wood with an exceedingly delicate scent. He found here lilies of two kinds ; one grown in garden was vigorous and fresh green-coloured, the other was of a wild kind, having less colour but very sweet scent. He ordered his court painters Nadir-ul-Asar Ustad Mansur to paint all the flowers of Kashmir, but he could not paint more than 100 flowers, although Jahangir writes that " the flowers that are seen in the territories of Kashmir were beyond all calculations." (Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 292-99).

Jahangir was greatly interested in the growth of saffron also in Kashmir. It was grown in village Pampur, and perhaps, writes he, there is no other place in the world where saffron is so abundantly produced. The quantity, annually yielded there, was 500 maunds of Hindustan or 4,000 maunds of Kabul. It blossoms, adds Jahangir further, when it is only about two inches high from the ground, having four leaves and four threads of orange colour, like those of safflower in length equal to one joint of the finger. The fields of saffron are some times a *kos*, some times half a *kos* in length, and they look very beautiful from a distance. The flower has a fine petal of a violet colour and three

stigmas producing saffron are found within it and that is the purest saffron (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 315). Abul Fazl describes the method of its cultivation in a more graphic manner. He says that the seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The plant is about a quarter of a yard long, but according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are some times two-thirds of it above, and some times two-thirds below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. When he bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers, provided the soil is annually softened. For the first two years the flowers grow sparingly, but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years the bulbs are taken out else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place, and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years. (*Ain-i-Akbari* p. 63 and Blochmann p. 89-90).

SÁM MIRZĀ AND HIS "TUHFA I SAMĪ"

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The Safawí regime marks an important epoch in the history of Persia. The real founder of this dynasty was Sháh Ismá'íl though the dynasty derives its present name from another member of the family called Safí'uddín Safá, who was deeply venerated by the people.[1] Sháh Ismá'íl traces his lineage to the Imám Músá Kázim, the seventh Imám. Sháh Ismá'íl died in 930 A.H. after a small period of sickness which no physician could cure. He passed away on the night before Monday, 19th Rajab at 930 A.H.[2] He died at the age of 38 years,[3] and ruled for 24 years. Hasan Rumlu, author of Ahsan u't Tawáríkh, states that Amír Jamálu'd Dín of Astrábád washed his body, and he was buried in Ardabil besides his ancestors.[4] Sháh Ismá'íl had four sons—Sháh Tahmásp, Sám Mirzá, Ilqás Mirzá and Bahrám Mirzá, in addition to five daughters *viz.* Khánish Khánam, Parikhán Khánam, Mihín Bánu Sultánum, Farangis Khánam, and Sháh Zainab Khánam.[5]

Sám Mirzá was his second son, the eldest son being Sháh Tahmásp, who according to his own statement in his Tadhkirá-i-Tahmásp, was born on the 26th Zil Hajj, 920 A.H.[6] Sám Mirza was born on Tuesday[7] 21st Sha'bán 923 A.H. (*i.e.* after three years four months and 5 days). Very little is known about Sám Mirzá's life. Almost all the historians and Tadhkira writers are silent on this point; specially his early life is completely in dark. It is difficult to find out much about his early activities. It can be assumed that Sháh Ismá'íl who himself was a lover and patron of men of letters must have taken keen interest in the education of his children who were then the princes of his royal family. This is true from the love and interest shown by them in poetry and literature.[8] The fact that Sháh Ismá'íl took great interest in the education of his sons can be confirmed from one of the statements of Sám Mirzá himself in his Tuhfa-i-Sámí, which leaves no room for hesita-

1 For details regarding Safī'uddīn see Nasab Nāma-i-Silsila-i-Safavī.

2 Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh. p. 181.

3 *Ibid.* p. 182.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 Tadhkira-i-Tahmāsp p. 2.

7 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, Introduction, p. '7'—Tehran, ed.

8 Shāh Tahmāsp Ilqās Mirzā and Behrām Mirzā were not only patrons of poets but were themselves poets.

tion or doubt in the matter. While giving the accounts of Qáẓí Shams-u'd-Dín Mu'allim, Sám Mírzá writes that he was the teacher of most of the princes excluding himself. Sám Mirzá writes thus:

........و بعضی اوقات بتعلیم اکثر شاهزادگان
سوای من اشتغال مینمود [1]

Sám Mirzá here clearly states that except him all other princes were the pupils of the aforesaid Qáẓí. This confirms the fact that Qáẓí Shams-u'd-Dín was not his teacher. In the light of these statements it can well be stated that some one other than Qáẓí Shamsu'd-Dín must have been the teacher of Sám Mirzá for it is not possible to assume that this prince might have been ignored. Sám Mirzá, while giving the account of Muḥammad Múmin, reveals that he was his teacher:

من در خدمت ایشان درس خوانده‌ام و اندک سیاه و سفیدی که فرق میتوانم
از برکت ایشانست [2]

It is not clear in what subject Sám Mirzá received instructions from this teacher. However it is certain that Sám Mirzá received instructions in Persian and Arabic, a fact that is clear from his own work Tuḥfa-i-Sámí. His very insertions and appropriate use of Arabic in his tadhkira is a clear proof and bears testimony to the fact that he was well-versed in Arabic. In addition to this it can also be inferred

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 51.

2 Muḥammed Mūmin was the son of Khwāja 'Abdullāh Marwārīd. Sām Mirzā appointed him to the post of Ṣadr. He died in 948 A.H. He was a poet too. Sām incorporates the following verses of his teacher:

بسکه گردون همچو خود میخواست سرگردان مرا
عاقبت کرد از غمت سرگشته دوران مرا
آنچنان گشتم ضعیف از محبت هجران که نیست
دیگر از درد جدائی طاقت افغان مرا
مشکل شبهای هجران گر بماند این چنین
دولت وصل تو کی روزی شود آسان مرا
بسکه خون پالاست چشمم ده که خواهد شد خراب
شهر هستی دمبدم از موج این طوفان مرا
همچو مومن بیسر و سامان نبودم پیش ازین
در سرکار تو آخر شد سر و سامان مرا

from Tuḥfa-i-Sámí that being a prince he was given training in fine arts, chiefly music. Sám Mirzá throughout his book refers to this. He is seen appreciating music and the way different musical instruments played by the persons whom he refers in his tadhkira. This no doubt requires a fine taste which is generally the result of fine training in that particular art. While writing about Mír Ibráhím Qánúní, Sám Mirzá appreciates his skill in playing the musical instrument 'Qánún':

قانــون را در روش مینوازد [1]

Similarly he expresses his opinion about Mír Ṭaríqí, who was a good musician of his time, thus:

میر طریقی طالب علم است و متقی است و در علم موسیقی وقوفی تمام دارد [2]

Ḥáfiẓ Bábá Ján was a contemporary poet of Sám Mirzá whose account Sám Mirzá gives in his Tuḥfa-i-Sámí. Ḥáfiẓ Bábá Ján was a good musician and could play very well on the instruments like 'úd and Shutur ghurá'. Sám Mirzá with great confidence states that he was not having any equal in playing on these instruments. This is really a very a good point to believe that Sám Mirzá was well-versed in music, otherwise he could not have expressed his opinion in the following manner. He writes thus:

و از سازها عود و شتر غورا مینواخت که
باعتقاد من هیچکس مثــل او ننـواختــه [3]

About Ḥáfiẓ Majlisí and Muḥibb 'Alí Ná'í who were great musicians, Sám Mirzá writes thus:

حافظ مجلسی — قانون و شتر غـورا بد نمی نوازد [4]
محب علی نائی — نــی را خـوب می نــوازد [5]

Sháh Ismá'íl did not ignore the military training of his sons. As a father he thought it to be his foremost duty to give the best type of training in warfare to his sons who were to shoulder the governmental responsibilities in future. Moreover, as the founder of Safavid rule in Persia, Sháh Ismá'íl was more keen to keep his dynasty strong in future and for this it was necessary to train the princes in best possible way, for after all they were to rule after him and keep the dynasty well-established and pilot it through the troubled times. Sám Mirzá, therefore, received the military training along with his other brothers

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 46.
2 *Ibid.*
3 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 82.
4 *Ibid.* p. 83.
5 *Ibid.* p. 84.

and the perusal of the history of this period shows that he was really trained up in warfare. This is true in the light of his boldness shown against Mirzá Kámrán, brother of Humáyún, the Indian emperor of Timurid family. The author of Aḥsan-u't-Tawáríkh while writing about the rebellion of Sám Mirzá against his brother, Sháh Ṭahmásp describes the battle fought between Sám Mirzá and Mirzá Kámrán. He writes that Mirzá Kámrán marched from outside Qandhar against the camp of Sám Mirzá, seven leagues from Qandhar. Sám Mirzá very wisely arranged his army which comprised of two thousand as against twenty thousand of Mirzá Kámrán. Sám Mirzá placed Aghziwár on the right wing of the army and on the left wing he posted another efficient general named Lál Sulṭán Afshár and himself took position in centre. It can be noted here that such tactics and military organizations can only be the outcome of fine military training which, now can be said without hesitation, was given to the prince. The same author further states that when the battle began Sám Mirzá boldly fell upon the general of Kámrán named Qarája Beg, who was on the left wing of the army of Mirzá Kámrán. Sám Mirza succeeded in driving Qaraja Beg back who also showed great valour in facing Sám Mirzá:[1]

At a very tender age Sám Mirzá was called upon to shoulder the governmental responsibilities. In 939 A.H. Sháh Ṭahmásp led an expedition to Khurásán against the Uzbeks. While giving the details of this happening the author of Aḥsan-u't-Tawárikh states that Sufiyán Khalífa Rumlú moved with an army of two hundred horsemen from Záwiya-i-Karkh towards Sabzawar where there was Khán Kildi Uzbek with an army of four thousand. The Ṣúfís made an attack at night time and killed one hundred and fifty Uzbeks and then they set out for Nishápur[2] where also they overcame the Uzbek. From Nishápur they marched towards mashhad where 'Abdul 'Azíz Sulṭán had encamped with the army of eight thousand. Since the Khalífá was dealing with the Uzbeks who were in great number, Ḥusain Khán Shámlu, Aghziwár Khán Shámlú and Amír Sulṭán Shámlú who were with Sháh Ṭahmásp thought it wise to go for the help of Khalífá, hence they parted from Sháh and went to help the Khalífa.[3] The Uzbeks could not stand this powerful and timely help; hence 'Abdul 'Azíz and 'Ubaid who were leading the Uzbek army fled to Herat. They were followed by the Sháh who entered Herat on 22nd of Jumadí I 939 A.H. and halted in the city garden.[4] When the conditions in Herat came to normal, peace was restored. Sháh Ṭahmásp thought of proceeding further; before doing so he gave Herat to Sám Mirzá and as he was a boy of sixteen years at this time

1 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh p. 262.
2 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 245.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*

and was not in a position to manage the affairs of Herat he appointed Aghziwár Khán Shámlú as the guardian of Sám Mirzá:

اندرین سال امارت هرات را شاه دین پناه بنام میرزا ارزانی داشت و اغزوار خان
شاملو را لله گردانید [1]

After a stay of about five months and eleven days Sháh Ṭahmásp left Herat on 11th Zilqa'd, fired with the ambition to conquer Balkh.[2] It seems that under the administration of the young prince guided by Aghziwár Khán Shámlú Herat attained some prosperity. His rule was a source of peace and comfort for the people of Herat who suffered great hardships at the hands of Ghází Khán and his men who had spoiled the people during the days of the siege and who was punished by Sháh Ṭahmásp when he took possession of Herat. After Sháh Ṭahmásp left Herat Aghziwár, the guardian of Sám Mirzá, strove to improve the army and also the condition of the people of Herat.[3]

It should also be noted here that during this time some underground activities were going on to put an end to Sháh Ṭahmásp's life. Ḥasan Rumlú unveils the fact in his history when he writes that one Bashadan Qará hatched a plot against the life of Sháh Ṭahmásp by mixing poison in the royal drink which the Sháh discovered before he touched it to his lips. No sooner the Sháh detected it Bashadan left the assembly and fled to Transoxiana.[4]

When the matter was being investigated some one reported that Ḥusain Khán bin 'Abdí Beg Shámlú, brother of Durmish Khán, who was a wakil of the Sháh, was behind this plot and under his instruction Bashadan Qará had mixed up the poison in the drink of the Sháh, who believed it. Ḥusain Khán did not stop here, but he carried his machination further by exciting the people against the rule of Sháh Ṭahmásp and instigated them to favour Sám Mirzá's rule instead.

عازم آن شد که در تغییر دولت سعی بلیغ نماید
و مردم را بسلطنت سام میرزا ترغیب نماید [5]

It was but natural for Sháh Ṭahmásp to remove such a mean and harmful element from his kingdom; hence he worked in this direction. Sháh Ṭahmásp sent him to scout but Ḥasan Ághá, one of the faithful servants of Sháh Ṭahmásp, rang a bell of warning that he might join the Turkish army. Therefore, Sháh Ṭahmásp sent for Ḥasan Khán and

1 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 246, also Tadhkira-i-Ṭahmāsp, p. 24.
2 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 247.
3 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 260.
4 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 253.
5 *Ibid.*

ordered him to be cut into pieces. After the order was executed one Qambhar Ughali fixed his head on the spear and took it round the royal tent.[1] Six months after this, the news of the death of Ḥusain Khán reached Herat where Sám Mirzá and Aghziwár were ruling. During this time Bashadan Qará, friend of Ḥussain Khán and Yúzí Qará fled from Transoxiana where they had taken shelter after incurring the wrath of Sháh Ṭahmásp and came to Sám Mirzá and Aghziwár in Herat and stirred them up to rebel against the Sháh.

و در آن اثنا باشدن قرا و یوزی قرا از
ما وراءالنهر گریختند نزد اغزوار و سام میرزا
آمده ایشان را بر مخالفت تحریک نمود [2]

They succeeded in instigating Sám Mirzá and Aghziwár to rebel against the Sháh. Thus stirred up, they left Herat leaving it to the care of Khalífa Sulṭán, the chief of the stables, Mehmúd Beg and Ummat Beg. After leaving Herat Sám Mirzá and Aghziwár reached Qandhar and besieged it. At first Khwajá Kalán, governor of Qandhar, gave battle but Aghziwár slew many of his men. Since it was not possible to face and resist Sám Mirzá and Aghziwar, Khwája Kalán asked Mirzá Kámrán for help who was at that time in Lahore. Mirzá Kámrán went to Humáyún and gathered the army from India and set out for Qandhar. He marched from outside Qandhar against the camp of Sám Mirzá, seven leagues from Qandhar. Sám Mirzá who seems to have gained enough experience of war-fare by this time, took lead in the arrangement of the troops to give fight to Mirzá Kámrán. He appointed Aghziwár on the right wing, Lál Sulṭán Afshár on the left and himself took the position in the centre. On the other side Mirzá Kámrán stood with twenty thousand. Sám Mirzá who was now eighteen years old fell upon Qarája Beg, the leader of the left wing of the enemy, and drove him back. Aghziwár came to his help but one of the legs of his horse stuck fast in a hole. Taking the advantage of this, certain soldiers of the opposite camp caught hold of him and brought before Mirzá Kámrán by whose command he was killed. Without Aghziwár, Sám Mirzá was rendered helpless; he lost heart and fled from the field and went towards the hot country.

It seems that Aghziwár was also a party in the plot to overthrow Sháh Ṭahmásp for the officers of Shah Tahmasp *viz*. Mathana Sulṭán, Amír Beg Rumlú and Káẓí Khán had already sounded the Sháh not to

[1] Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 254. [2] *Ibid.*

appoint Aghziwár as the guardian of the Prince. Sháh Ṭahmásp himself refers to this in his memoirs.[1]

Sháh Ṭahmásp failed to grasp what his officers meant. Now when Aghziwár was killed at the order of the Mirzá Kámrán, Sám Mirzá realised that his defeat had degraded the Sháh, his brother who was held in awe by other rulers. Sám repented for what he did. He put to death Bashadan Qará and other of the rogues of the Yúzí Qará who had stirred him up to revolt against his own brother. Sám Mirzá sent their heads to the Sháh and sent a petition requesting the Sháh to pardon him, for he was instigated by these people. Sháh Ṭahmásp pardoned him.[2]

In 951 A.H. Humáyún took refuge with Sháh Ṭahmásp.[3] Sháh Ṭahmásp received Humáyún warmly. He issued special Farmán to his various officers to make best possible arrangements to give a royal reception to Emperor Humáyún.[4] When he was in Sistan, the governor Aḥmed Sulṭán Shámlú, who had already received the order of Sháh Ṭahmásp came out with his nobles to receive him. Thence both of them left for Herat where the nobles brought valuable presents for Humáyún and thus gave him a warm reception to Humáyún. After staying for some days in Herat Humúyán set out to meet Sháh Ṭahmásp. In every province he was cordially welcomed. While at Ray, Ḥusain Ján Sulṭán Rumlú, the governor, extended his reception, when he was about a league from Sháh Ṭahmásp's camp. The Shah who had already made royal arrangements sent his trustworthy officers to receive Humáyún. Sháh Ṭahmásp very cleverly included Sám Mirzá among them. Those whom he sent to receive the emperor were Behrám Mirzá, Sháh Ṭahmásp's brother, Sám Mirzá, Qáẓí Jahán, Sunduk Beg, Badr Khán, Sháh Qulí Khalífa, the keeper of the seal and other nobles.[5]

Sám Mirzá's Tuḥfa-i-Sámí is undoubtedly a great contribution to Persian literature, especially to the biographical literature. It deals not only with the poets but other notable persons also. Though the period in which Sám Mirzá lived was full of chaos and disturbance and, as

1 Tadhkira-i-Ṭahmāsp, p. 24.

2 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 263.

3 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 307.

4 This farman is specially important. It shows the grand reception given to Humāyūn. Shāh Ṭahmāsp took all possible care to see that his officers make best possible arrangements. The farman is full of interest, and has been published fully in *Dānish* of October 1950, pp. 79-53.

5 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 309.

Prof. Browne has rightly remarked, that during that period sword was more active than the pen, there did exist poets and other men of letters who could wield pen better than sword and could hold the candle of literature burning as their predecessors had done. The poets, during this period, produced lustrous gems of poetry. These pearls needed some jeweller who could arrange them in fine and beautiful necklace to present it to posterity by way of a Tuhfa. Fortunately this work was done by no less a person than the Prince Sám Mirzá who recognised the value of these poets who were mostly his contemporaries and wrote down their accounts in a book which he named "Tuhfá-i-Sámí". Sám Mirzá himself states the reason that led him to take this undertaking. He writes that during his time there were poets who excelled even the great poets of the past and who were no less than Khusrau, Sa'dí and Anwarí in the field of poetry. The poets of the past have found place in the books like Bahāristán, Majális-u'n-Nafá'is and Tadhkirat-u's-Shu'ará but there is a dearth of books containing the accounts of these poets. Moreover, Sám Mirzá also felt that if the accounts of these poets are not written and preserved they will be lost to posterity, and the cycle of the time will wipe away their precious legacy. Under such circumstances Sám Mirzá wisely thought of preserving the accounts of these men by writing them down in a book form to which he gave the name of Tuhfa-i-Sámí.

.... لا جرم چون ملاحظه نمود که بمرور ایام و
تمادی شهور و اعوام ذکر این نادره گویان از
صفحه زمان سترده میگردد مهما امکن تتبع احوال
و خلاصه اشعار هریک نموده بر صفحه تحریر نگاشت
و این صحیفه گرامی که موسوم به تحفه سامی
مشتمل است بر یک تنبیه و هفت صحیفه و یک خاتمه [1]

Tuhfa-i-Sámí comprises a 'Tanbíh', seven 'Ṣaḥífas' and a 'Khátima'. Apart from the muqaddama and Khátima the seven Ṣaḥífás contain the notices of the following ones:

- Ṣaḥífá I : Sháh Ismá'íl and the contemporary rulers and princes.
- ,, II : Sayyids and 'Ulamas.
- ,, III : Ministers and other officers.
- ,, V : Poets and elegant writers – divided into two matla's.
- ,, VI : Poets of Turkish race.
- ,, VII : Poets of lower classes and of different professions.

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 4.

The introduction of the book deals with the praises of God and the Prophet. In the introduction Sám Mirzá clarifies certain points for the convenience of the readers. He very often uses the phrases صاحب قران مغفور and صاحب قران throughout his book. Sám expresses that by former he means late Sháh Ismá'íl and by latter he means Sháh Tahmásp. While in the Khátima Sám Mirzá states the difficulties and other hindrances that he confronted during the course of writing the Tadhkira. Sám Mirzá then praises his own composition thus:

این جریده که بلا تکلف گلدسته ایست از گلستان
کرام چیده نوبهاریست در بوستان [1]

Tuhfa-i-Sámí is of manifold importance. Besides the poets, both of high pedigree and of low origin, it exhibits the love and interest of the kings and princes and other officials in poetry and literature. Thus we not only know the accounts of poets and their poetry but also know the verses and poetical compositions of kings, princes and nobles of different dynasties. While giving the accounts of his father Sháh Ismá'íl, the author Sám Mirzá refers to his taste and inclination towards poetry. He mentions that Sháh Ismá'íl was a poet and could write verses both in Persian as well as Turki. He further states that Sháh Ismá'íl had Khatá'í as his name de plume:

تخلص همایون ایشان در ترکی و فارسی خطائی است [2]

Sám Mirzá unfortunately does not mention any of his verses in his tadhkira which would have been of great interest and pleasure to the students of Persian. The author of Átash Kadah incorporates the following verse of Sháh Ismá'íl:

بیستون ناله زارم چو شنید از جا شد   کرد فریاد که فرهاد دگر پیدا شد [3]

Sám Mirzá has written a brief account of his brother Behrám Mirzá who was also a great lover of learning and knowledge and was a great patron besides being a poet himself. Sám mentions the following rubá'í of Behrám Mirzá:

افسوس که در خیال و خوابیم همه   در پرده ظلمت و حجابیم همه
پیوسته بفکر نا صوابیم همه   و ز شومی نفس در عذابیم همه [4]

1 Tuhfā-i-Sāmī, p. 191.
2 Tuhfā-i-Sāmī, p. 9.
3 Ātash Kadah, p. 17.
4 Tuhfā-i-Sāmī, p. 10.

The following rubá'í of Behrám Mirzá is given by Átash Kadah:

بهرام در این سراچه پر شر و شور تا کی بحیات خویش باشی مغرور
کرده است درین بادیه صیاد اجل در هر قدمی هزار بهرام گور [1]

Sám Mirzá also expresses that the prince, Behrám Mirzá, his brother, was a great patron of poets and extended his liberal patronage to the poets as a result of which they constantly endeavoured to remain in his service. Náranji Sulṭán, a poet, was in the service of Behrám Mirzá for more than twenty years.

Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá was a notable ruler. He was noted for his fine administration and reform in addition to his patronage towards poets and other men of letters. Sám Mirzá in his Tuḥfá states that he was a great patron of artists and poets. He also extended his liberal patronage towards scholars and learned men.[2] Sám also writes that Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá was a poet as well as a writer and was the author of Majális-u'l-'Ushsháq.[3]

Following verses are of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá as quoted by Sám Mirzá in his Tuḥfa:

جانا جفا برای وفا کشیم ما ترک وفا مکن که جفا میکشیم ما
نقاش چین چو صورتش آورد در نظر زد بر زمین قلم که چها میکشیم ما [4]

Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá, besides being a poet, was also a great patron of poets, a fact which is mentioned by most of the authors. Sám Mirzá's Tuḥfa contains valuable references to his patronage and his love of iterature; while giving the accounts of Khwajá Mas'úd, Sám Mirzá writes that at the order of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá he versified the events of his time. Sám further writes that this book contains more than 10,000 verses.[6] Similarly Sám Mirzá states that poet Riyáḍí of Záwáh versified the events of his time at the order of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá who was very free with the poets. In this connection Sám Mirzá nentions, an interesting and valuable incident. He writes that one day Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá who had an attack of paralysis, and was, therefore, being carried on a stretcher by his servants, met the poet Gulkhaní. Since he was always free with men of letters whose company he very often liked, enquired of Gulkhaní, to which the poet replied that by God's grace he is able to move on his legs and was not required to be

1 Átash Kadah, p. 14.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
4 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 12.
5 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 12.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 106. Beal gives it to be 12,000.

carried by others on their shoulders like a dead one. The beauty of this incident can be seen in Sám Mirzá's own words which run thus:

روزی که سلطان حسین میرزا در خیابان هرات دو چار او (گلخنی) شده بواسطه
مرض فالج بر تخت روان سیر میکرد از کمال لطف باو گفته که هان مولانا
چونی گفت الحمد الله دو پای روان دارم و سیر میکنم و چون مردها مرا بر تخت نه
بسته اند [1]

Sám Mirzá's accounts of Badí'uzzamán are really valuable, especially his verses, quoted by Sám in his Tuḥfá, throws light on his love for poetry.[2] Similarly Sám Mirzá acquaints one with the love and desire for literature evinced by another member of the royal family named Farídún Mirzá who died in 925 A.H. at the hands of the Uzbeks. He was the son of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá. Farídún Mirzá was a great patron of learning and patronised poets and other men of letters. Sám Mirzá mentions interesting and at the same time, important information about this prince whose beauty had haunted the poet Ahlí Khurásání.

Sám Mirzá also cites another interesting instance. He writes that one day Farídún Mirzá entered a garden and posted his servant named Bakht at the gates of the garden, so that he may not allow any one to enter the garden. Ahlí in order to see his face hastened to the garden but was soon stopped at the gates by the aforesaid servant. Ahlí then composed a ghazal extempore, attached the paper to wax, fixed it to an apple and set it floating in the water that was going into the garden; when the prince knew this he granted him permission to enter the garden to see his face.

سلطان روزی روی بباغ فرسوده بخت نام غلام سیاهی را بدر باغ نشاند که
کسی را در باغ نگذارد و مولانا بامید دیدار در باغ شتافته موکل مذکور از
دخول وی مانع آمد لاجرم در بدیهه غزلی که این دو بیت از آنجاست گفته و
" کاغذ را درمیان موم نهاده بر سیبی تعبیه کرده و از ممرآب باندرون فرستاده
است - بیت

دو چشمم فرش آن منزل که سازی جلوه گاه آنجا
بهرجا پا نهی خواهم که گردم خاک راه آنجا

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 112.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

چه خوش بزمیست رنگین مجلس جانان چسود اما

که نتوان شد سفید از شومی بخت سیاه آنجا

بعد از اطلاع آن میرزا اورا طلب داشته در لطف برویش کشاد [1]

Farídún Mirzá was a poet and composed verses in Persian. Sám Mirzá mentions his verses and thereby hightens the beauty and value of his tadhkira.[2] Tuḥfa-i-Sámí also contains valuable information about Humáyún's literary taste and his verses. Sám expresses that he is the Khusrau in the field of poetry and then refers to his other accomplishments. Sám Mirzá besides this quotes the following verse of Humáyún:

آن نه سرو است که در باغ سر افراخته است

شمع سبزی است که پروانه او فاخته است [3]

Sulṭán Ya'qúb Beg was an important contemporary ruler. He was the son of Uzzan Ḥasan whom he succeeded in A.D. 1477/982 and became the king of Turkamán tribes called Áq Qoinlú or the white sheep.[4] Ya'qúb Beg, was besides being an able ruler was also a great patron of poets. Number of poets flocked round his court and became the recepients of his liberal generosity. Sám Mirzá writes that during his reign the standard of poetry was elevated and the poetry had attained the same popularity which the Sámrí nation had attained amongst the Israelites. Sám Mirzá writes these and then quotes a rubá'í of Sulṭán Ya'qúb:

در زمان خلافت وی اختر شعر از حضیض هبوط در اوج ثریا رسیده و شیوه شعر و شاعری چون ملت سامری درمیانه بنی اسرائیل شهرت تمام یافت

این از جملهٔ اشعار اوست :

دنیا که درو ثبات کم می بینم   در هر فرحش هزار غم می بینم

چون کهنه رباطی است که از هر طرفش   راهی به بیابان عدم می بینم [5]

Among the poets who were patronised by the Sulṭán, as given by Sám Mirzá, was Mauláná Banná'í. Sám Mirzá states that Mauláná Baná'í was in the service of Sulṭán Ya'qúb where he gradually prospered. He also states that the poet Banná'í dedicated his work Behrám-u-Behrúz to Sulṭán Ya'qúb. Bábá Fighání also prospered in the service of this Sulṭán.

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 108.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
4 Beal, p. 419.
5 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 18.
6 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 98.

بعد ازان بخدمت سلطان یعقوب افتاد و او را ترقیات کلی دست داد [1]

The poet Mauláná held the post of Shahídí Malik-ush-Shu'ará during the time of this Sultán.[2] Tuhfá-i-Sámí also mentions that when Sultán Ya'qúb heard the fame of the poet named Darwish Dehkí, he sent for him where he made considerable progress.[3] Sultán Ya'qúb's patronage and his liking for poetry can also be seen in Tuhfa-i-Sámí. During the accounts of the poet Bábá Nasíbí, Sám Mirzá writes that this poet, in the beginning was a confectioner. By chance he happened to be in the company of the Sultán who patronised him, when he knew the value and standard of his poetry, irrespective of his dignity and profession. About the poet Alif Abdál, Sám Mirzá mentions interesting account and throws light on the fact that Sultán Ya'qúb was deeply interested and had an yearning for the company of poets and men of letters. He writes that once Alif 'Abdál requested the Sultán to give him the skin of a lamb. Sultán agreed on the condition that he should imitate the voice of a lamb to which the poet agreed and received the desired skin. This humour can best be enjoyed in the following words of Sám Mirzá:

روزی از پادشاه مذکور پوستین بره سفید و صوفی طلب نمود پادشاه فرمود که میدهم بشرط آنکه بانگ گوسفندی کنی گفت مگر آنکه مربع باشد و مربع را کشیده گفت بطریق آواز گوسفند [4]

The poet Mauláná Hairání was also in the service of Sultán Ya'qúb who patronised him much.[5]

Amír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í is an eminent figure in the history of Persian literature. He was both a minister as well as a poet in addition to his being a great patron of learning. Sám Mirzá's account of this great personality is really valuable and more authentic, and hightens the importance of the book both historically and literally. Sám Mirzá writes that he was patronised by Sultán Abu Sa'íd who took special care in the education of this youth. After his death Amír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í went to Mashhad and engaged himself in the acquisition of knowledge when Sultán Husain Mirzá came to the throne of Khurásán. he sent a swift messenger with a letter to Sultán Ahmed and requested him to send Amír 'Alí Shír Nawáí. Sultán Ahmed immediately sent the Amír to Khurásán.[6] Amír 'Alí was given warm reception in Herat by the king and his nobles.[7] Sultán Husain Mirzá appointed him to

1 Tuhfā-i-Sāmī, p. 102.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 106
3 *Ibid.*, p. 107.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 179

the post of the "Keeper of the Seal," and gradually became one of the courtiers of the Sultán.[1] He was later given high and responsible post in Astrabad but later on as Sám Mirzá states, he led a retired life. He was held in high esteem by the king, his officials and the princes.[2] He spent most of his time in the pursuit of knowledge, writing books and composing verses.[3] Sám Mirzá enumerates his works thus:

(۱) نظم الجواهر فارسی - (۲) قسام المحبة - (۳) نثر اللئالی - (۴) خمسة المتبحرین - (۵) قصهٔ شیخ صنعان - (۶) منشآت ترکی - (۷) مفردات در معما - (۸) عروض ترکی - (۹) حالات سید حسن اردشیر - (۱۰) حالات پهلوان محمد ابو سعید - (۱۱) محبوب القلوب - (۱۲) مجالس النفائس - (۱۳) حیرت الابرار - (۱۴) فرهاد و شیرین - (۱۵) لیلی و مجنون - (۱۶) سد سکندری [4]

Sám Mirzá in addition to this states that he wrote five Diwáns out of which four were in Turkí language. They were named as

(۱) غریب النوائب (۲) انوار النبات (۳) بدایع الوسایط (۴) فوائد الکبیر [5]

Sám Mirzá further mentions that Amír 'Alí wrote verses in Turkí and Persian under the pen names of Nawá'í and Faná'í respectively. His Persian diwan contains nearly 6,000 verses:

در شعر ترکی مطلقاً تخلص ایشان نوائی است و در دیوان فارسی که قریب شش هزار بیت میباشد تخلصش فنائی [6]

Referring to the patronage of Amír 'Alí Shír, Sám Mirzá writes that he extended his liberality to men of letters as a result of which every recepient of it became unique in his own art. He also states that many persons dedicated their works to this great patron. Amír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í died on Sunday in the month of Jumádí 1906 A.H. Sám Mirzá quotes few verses from his Persian diwan. Some of them are:

انصاف بده ای فلک مینا فام کز این دو کدام خوبتر کرد خرام
خورشید جهانتاب تو از جانب صبح یا ماه جهانگرد من از جانب شام

* * *

نه دل بباغ کشد نی بلالهزار مرا من و غم تو بعیش و طرب چه کار مرا [7]

Muhammad Múmin Mirzá, son of Sultán Husain Mirzá, also evinced a great desire for literature and patronised poets and other men

[1] Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 179.
[2] Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 180.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

of letters. According to Tuḥfá-i-Sámí, one of the poets who was patronised by Muḥammed Múmin was Mání Mashhadí.[1] This prince himself was a poet and composed elegant verses, Sám Mirzá quotes his following verses which he composed before he was brutally murdered after a short period of imprisonment.

نا جوانمردی که بیجرمم درین سن میکشد
کافری سنگین دلی گشت است و مؤمن میکشد [2]

The information contained in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí about Shaibak Khán, is also important and attracts one's attention. Shaibak Khán who was a rival contemporary of early Ṣafavides, did possess love for literature and could compose verses. He was well-versed in most of the arts. His love for literature can be noted from the fact that he ordered the poets to translate the Sháh Náma of Firdausí into Turkish.[3] About his lineage Sám Mirzá writes that he was the son of Buráq Khán 'Abdul Khán who traces his origin to Changíz Khán. In the beginning he was in Turkistan without any provision whence he entered into the service of Sulṭán Mohammed Bin Sulṭán Abu Sa'íd, ruler of Transoxiana, and after staying there for sometime he practised deceit and went to Turkistan.[5] Sám Mirzá's accounts of 'Ubaid Khán, son of Sulṭán Mehmúd, brother of Shaibak Khán, are also important. Sám does not seem to be well disposed towards 'Ubaid Khán who according to him was cunning, rude and merciless. Many people suffered due to him and the country of Khurásán became deserted because of him.[6] In spite of this he was generous and brave. He wrote verses also. Sám Mirzá quotes his following verse:

دوست ساقی شد دلا جام محبت نوش کن
نیست وقت گفتگو دم در کش و بنیوش کن [7]

Sháh 'Ādil was also a contemporary ruler who ruled the place called Lár. Sám writes that he was a good natured man and was good at archery. He traces his lineage to Gurgin. Sám expresses that since last thousand years the family is ruling over **Lár.**[8] Sháh 'Ādil was killed in 950 A.H. The following couplet is of him:

کهن شد قصه مجنون حدیث درد من بشنو
بهر افسانهٔ ضایع مکن خود را سخن بشنو [9]

1 **Tuḥfa-i-Sāmì, p. 114.**
2 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
3 *Ibid.*, p. **20.**
4 *Ibid.*, p. **19.**
5 ***Ibid.***
6 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Mirzá Sháh Husain, ruler of Qandhár, also finds place in Tuhfá-i-Sámí. He was also a poet.[1]

The 2nd Sahífá of Tuhfa-i-Samí deals with the accounts of great men or Sádáts and learned men and their literary taste and compositions. These men held great position in the government. It should be noted that besides their official duties and engagements the love of literature had enamoured them. Sám Mirzá, therefore, commands honour and respect for bringing into notice the literary activities of these men, for it is difficult to find information regarding them in any other source. This Sahífá begins with the accounts of Mír 'Abdul Báqí who enjoyed the position of a Sadr during the early days of Sháh Ismá'íl. Mír 'Abdul Báqí was interested in poetry and composed verses under the pen-name of Báqí and had a diwan of his own.[2] Mír Mu'izzuddín Mohammed of Isfahán was one of the chiefs and great men of Isfahán. He too evinced love poetry and had Faidi as his takhallus.

It seems that Sám Mirzá and Faidí were intimate with each other and there was a regular correspondence going on between them, for Sám Mirzá mentions the following rubá'í of Faidí which he quoted in a letter to Sám Mirzá:

در یکی از مکتوبات که بمن نوشته این رباعی که زادهٔ طبع ایشان است بوده
که رباعی :

تا دور ز محفل جمالت شده ام نومید ز دولت وصالت شده ام
پیوسته خیال تو بود مونس جان شرمنده ز الطاف خیالت شده ام [3]

Sháh Safí, brother of Qiwám-ud-dín Nur Bakhshí, was also one of the great men of the time who could find time to devote to poetry in spite of his duties. Sám Mirzá has recorded his verses which are no doubt of immense importance.[4] Mirzá Qásim was one of the chiefs of Janabdust. Sám Mirzá informs us that he wrote verses under the pen-name of Qásimí and was perfect in riddles.[5] Sám Mirzá also expresses that Qásimí could write all forms of poetry but in mathnaví form he was the leader of his time. Sám also opines that he was a matchles Qasída writer also.[6]

He composed four mathnavís *viz*. Sháh Náma dealing with the conquests of Sháh Tahmásp; Lailá Majnún which he dedicated to

1 Tuhfā-i-Sāmī, p. 23.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Sháh Ṭahmásp;[1] third was Kár Náma and the fourth was Khusrau Shírín which he dedicated to Sám Mirzá, author of Tuḥfá-i-Sámí :

دیگر کتاب خسرو شیرین که بنام من [2]

Sám Mirzá quotes couplets from each and acquaints the readers with them. Qáẓí Ikhtiyár was the chief of the Qáẓís in Herat during the reign of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá. Though he was fond of amassing wealth and naturally was a miser, Sám Mirzá states, that he had a fine taste for poetry and was himself a poet. Mukhtár-ul-Anwár was one of his works. He dedicated his mathnaví named 'Adl-u-Júd to Sháh Ismá'íl; it contains five thousand verses. Sám Mirzá devotes his 3rd Ṣaḥífá to the accounts of the ministers and all other men of letters. This really adds to the literary value of the tadhkira. About Mirzá Sháh Ḥusain, Sám Mirzá writes that in the beginning he was the Qáẓí of Iṣfahán then he became Vazír-i-Dárúghá in the service of Durmísh Khán Shámlú. Later on he entered into the service of Sháh Ismá'íl and became a minister.

According to Sám Mirzá he was deeply interested in poetry. He wrote the following couplet in reply to that of Mauláná Jámí.

عاشقان هجر ترا مونس جان ساخته اند

وصل چون نیست میسر بهمان ساخته اند [3]

'Abdí Beg was one of the noblemen of Shiráz and was enjoying honourable position in the Government. Sám Mirzá brings to light the fact that he was a poet of high calibre and was a perfect mathnaví writer. He wrote verses under the pen name of Navídí and wrote a mathnaví named Jám-i-Jamshíd at a very early age.[4] Tuḥfá-i-Sámí states that Navídí had written a Khamsá. Haft Akhtar is one of the mathnavis :

جواب خمسه گفته و بسیار معانی خاص در آن درج کرد [5]

The fourth Ṣaḥífá of Tuḥfá-i-Sámí is of special importance, as it throws light on the lives of men of repute and honour who lived during Sám Mirzá's time. Sám also states that they were not regular poets but composed verses occasionally.[6] Amongst them was one Shiháb-ud-Din 'Abdulláh Bayáni, popularly known as Merwáríd. He had written a book partly in prose and partly in poetry dealing with the events of the reign of Sháh Ṭahmásp. He had diwans of rubá'ís, ghazals and qaṣidás, which collectively came to be called as Munas-u-Aḥbáb. He had started writing a mathnavi which remained unfinished.[7]

1 Tuḥfā-i-Sāmī, p. 27.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
4 Tuḥfā-i-Sāmī, p. 59.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Sám Mirzá writes about Mauláná Fakhr-ud-din 'Alí, son of Husain Wá'iz Káshifí. Like his father, he too was a preacher and was deeply interested in literature. He is the author of the Mathnaví called Mehmúd-u-Ayáz.[1] Sám Mirzá also mentions another notable man named Mullá Muhammad Sharqí who wrote Zafar Náma-i-Taimúrí. He was both a poet and a prose writer. Sám Mirzá holds high opinion about him. Mauláná Shams-ud-din was a young man and was well versed in Qáfiya and Mu'amma. His pen name was Nawá'í. Before he left for India he wrote the following qitah :

سوی هندوستان روم که آنجا کار اهل هنر نکو رفته

که سخا و کرم ز روی جهان بزمین سیه فرو رفته [2]

The following couplet is also of this poet;

ای دل مگو که آن گل بوی وفا ندارد دارد وفا و لیکن نسبت بما ندارد [3]

Another notable person whose accounts are to be found, besides many other, is Qázi Sanjání, son of Sháh Sanján. Sám Mirzá writes that he had written mathnaví named Manzar-ul-Absár in imitation of Nidhámí's Makhzan-ul-Asrár and dedicated it to Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í.[4] He had also written a mathnavi dealing with the events of the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl Safawí.

Before a critique is written on this Sahífá, I feel it better to deal with the sixth and seventh Sahífás first. The sixth Sahífá deals with the Turks and the poets of Turkish origin Amir Shaikh Nidhám-ud-din popularly known as Suhailí was of Turkish origin. His nom-de-plume was Suhailí. Sám mentions that once he consulted Shaikh Āzari for a good takhallus. The Shaikh opened a book and saw the word Suhail in the first sentence. That is why he adopted Suhailí as his nom-de-plume. To this man the great didectict work named Anwár-i-Suhailí of Mauláná Husain Wá'iz Káshifí was dedicated.[5] Amir Shaikh Nidhám-ud-din was a poet and had his diwans in Turki and Persian respectively.[6]

Mauláná Áhí was a Chaghtái Turk and was a noble of Sultán Husain Mirzá. He could compose verses.[7] Among the other poets of Turkish origin dealt by Sám are Amir Husain, Husain Qulí Mirzá, Khiyál and others.

1 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 68.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
3 *Ibid.*
4 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 80.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*

Sám Mirzá has devoted the seventh Saḥífá to the Ṭurfá Guyáṇ or the jesters. Among them are Qásim Marmuz, Mauláná Ḥusain Mushtáq ; Meḥmúd Zehgír, Ustád Qásim, Khwája Sháh Walí and others.

The most important part of Tuḥfá-i-Sámí is its fifth Saḥífá that deals with poets who had earned fame and repute during Sám Mirzá's time or a bit early. It has been divided into two sections entitled maṭla's, first of which deals with the poets and the learned men in details as compared to those of the second maṭla'. Jámi is the first poet with whom Sám Mirzá inaugrates the first maṭla'. Sám Mirzá states on the authority of the Takmila that Jámí's father Mauláná Moḥammed belonged to a district called Dardisht in Iṣpahán. He left his native place and came to Khurásán and settled in Kharjard. Sám further writes that it was here that Jámí was born on 23rd Sha'bán 817 A.H. at the time of 'Ishá prayer[1] and died at the age of 81 in Muḥarram 898 A.H. Sám Mirzá also speaks of Jámí's literary persuits and his poetry. Jámí's accounts are not given satisfactorily by Sám Mirzá who as a biographer could have given more details about Jámí who died about 25 years before Sám Mirzá, and the information which would have come down from his pen would have been of utmost importance and more authentic being next to those given by Majális-un-Nafá'is. Instead Sám Mirzá disappoints the readers by his being very brief not only about Jámí but most of the poets who were his contemporaries and even in his service. Also it is regrettable that even during the course of his narration Sám Mirzá is not all correct. While giving the accounts of Jámí, Sám Mirzá refers to an incidence of Jámí and Sulṭán Abu Sa'íd. He writes that once Jámí went to Sulṭán Abu Sa'íd. When he heard that Sulṭán was busy in frivolity he returned back. When Sulṭán heard of this he abandoned the assembly of mirth and joy and sent for Jámí who wrote a ghazal extempore and sent it to the Sulṭán requesting him to excuse him. Sám then quotes two verses of this ghazal. He narrates thus :

''و در ایام سلطان ابو سعید صیت دانشش بهمه جا رسیده
سلطان بغایت در باب احترامش کوشیده چنانچه
مشهور است که وی یک نوبتی متوجه مجلس او
شد چون خبر انعقاد صحبت عشرت بدو رسید
معاودت نمود چون پرتو این خبر به پیشگاه شعور
آن پادشاه تافت ادوات و آلات مناهی
را رفع نموده شخصی بطلب او روانه نمود او

1 Tuḥfā-i-Sāmī, p. 85.

در بدیهه غزلی که این دو بیت از آنست بملازمان سلطان فرستاده عذر خواست بیت -

نه زهد آمد مرا مانع ز بزم عشرت اندیشان
غم خود دور میدارد ز بزم عشرت ایشان
بجائی کاطلس شاهان نشاید فرش ره حاشا
که راه قرب یابد دلق گرد آلود درویشان "[1]

Here Sám Mirzá seems to be wrong and incorrect. 'Alí Asghar Hikmat, the author of Jámí, an authentic source for Jámí, states that it was not Sulṭán Abu Sa'íd from whose assembly Jámí returned but it was Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá While referring to the respect given to Jámí by Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá, 'Alí Asghar Ḥikmat clears this point thus :

معین الدین اسفزاری در تاریخ هرات حکایتی از جامی نقل میکند
در هنگامی که استاد باردوی سلطان در خارج شهر هرات رفته است
اینحکایت که سام میرزا در تذکره خود باشتباه آنرا به سلطان
ابو سعید نسبت داده نشان میدهد که تا چه پایه سلطان حسین
میرزا را.......... با مولانا جامی دست ارادت بوده است [2]

Moreover Jámí himself refers to Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá and not Sulṭán Abu Sa'íd in the same Ghazal from which Sám Mirzá has quoted two verses. The remaining verses of the ghazal are:

نشاید مجمعی را گفت بزم عشرت اندیشان
که نبود پرتو رویت چراغ مجلس ایشان
بجز تشویش نبود تخت جاه و اطلس شاهی
خوشا کنج فراق و دلق آلود درویشان
حسینی وار از پیرمغان جویم قدح شد
ز در جام جامی باده لعل جگر ریشان [3]

Sám Mirzá also states that Sulṭán Abu Sa'íd honoured Jámí utmost and always tried to elevate his position but Sulṭán Sa'íd, it is worth noting did not know Jámí intimately:

و در آثار جامی تالیف کتابی بنام سلطان ابو سعید بنظر نرسید و این

[1] Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 86
[2] Hikmat, p. 23. Ḥikmat's source is Tārīkh-i-Hirat of Mu'īnuddīn.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 25

ممکن است از آن سبب باشد که مولانا را بدرگاه سلطان ابو سعید راهی نبوده و سلطان او را چنانکه باید نمی شناخت

Hilálí was an eminent poet and has attracted the notice of many tadhkirá writers and historians. Sám Mirzá writes about him that he was a Chaghtá'í Turk and was brought up in Astrábad whence he went to Khurásán.[2] He was a good poet and was perfect in writing mathnavís and qaṣidás. He was Sám Mirzá's contemporary and according to Sám Mirzá's own statement, he was very often in his company:

وی بصحبت من بسیار رسیده [3]

It is learnt from Sám Mirzá that Hilálí was also in the service of Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í. Sám Mirzá states that once he recited the following verse in the presence of Amír 'Alí Shír:

چنان از پا فگند امروزم آن رفتار و قامت هم
که فردا بر نخیزم بلکه فردای قیامت هم

Sám Mirzá expresses that Amír 'Alí Shír was pleased by this and asked his nom-de-plume. When he heard it (Hilálí) he said 'No, Badri, Badri,' meaning full moon. Sám Mirzá mentions only one mathnaví, Sháh-u-Darwísh written by Hilálí, as a matter of fact he should have mentioned the names of other two mathnavís. Sám Mirzá's accounts of the poet are satisfactory. Though Hilálí was his contemporary yet to our surprise Sám Mirzá is quite silent about his date of birth. Moreover, the date of Hilálí's death as given by Sám Mirzá does not seem to be correct, for there is a difference of opinion regarding this. The Encyclopaedia of Islam gives it to be 939 A.H.[4] While Prof. Brown gives it to be 935 A.H.[5] The source of Brown seems to be Aḥsan-ut-Tawáríkh of Ḥasan Beg Rumlu who mentions the death of Hilálí under the year 935 A.H. It sets one thinking as to whom the credit of correct date should go, for both of them were Hilálí's contemporaries. To be more exact the statement of Aḥsan-ut-Twáríkh should be considered to be more authentic, for its author Rumlú was already a grown up man when Hilálí died while Sám Mirzá was yet a boy of 12 years. Sám Mirzá also states that 'Ubaid Khán Uzbek killed him because of his being a Shí'a.[6] The author of Aḥsan-ut-Twárikh writes that some

1 Ḥikmat, p. 21.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 90.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
4 Vol. ii, p. 307.
5 Browne Vol. iv, p. 234.
6 Tuḥfā-i-Sāmī, p. 94.

envious men charged him saying that Hilálí had attempted to attack 'Ubaid Khán in a rubá'í of which is the following last couplet:

غارت کنی و مال مسلمانان بری   کافر باشم اگر مسلمان باشی [1]

Hence the Khán imprisoned him and after having tortured him killed him in the square of Herat. This information was at least expected from Sám Mirzá. Sám Mirzá is also silent on mentioning the name of the poet which according to Rumlú was Badruddin Hilálí. Sám Mirzá's account of Hátifí, in spite of drawbacks, are really valuable as they are mentioned by his own contemporary Sám Mirzá.

Sám Mirzá's accounts of Mullá Hátifí though lacking in some respects, are of immense importance. Sám Mirzá states that Mullá Hátifí entertained a desire to write a Khamsa in imitation of that of Nidhámí Ganjví. He, therefore, sought permission from Mullá Jámí who was his uncle. Jámí before granting him the permission tested him and asked him to write verses in reply to those of Firdausi's following verses:

درختی که تلخست وی را سرشت   گرش بر نشانی بباغ بهشت
ور از جوی خلدش بهنگام آب   به بیخ انگبین ریزی و شهد ناب
سر انجام گوهر بکار آورد   همان میوه تلخ بار آورد

Mauláná 'Abdulláh Hátifí fired with the ambition of writing a Khamsá composed the following verses to the effect and got the approval of Jámí:

اگر بیضه زاغ ظلمت سرشت   نهی زیر طاوس باغ بهشت
بهنگام آن بیضه پروردنش   ز انجیر جنت دهی ارزنش
دهی آبش از چشمهٔ سلسبیل   در آن بیضه دم در دمد جبرئیل
شود عاقبت بیضه زاغ زاغ   برد رنج بیهوده طاوس باغ [2]

Hátifí wrote Lailá Majnú; Khusrau Shírín, Haft Mandhár, and Taimur Náma. Sám Mirzá enumerates these names only. He also writes that at the order of Sháh Ismá'íl he composed a mathnaví dealing with the conquests of Sháh Ismá'íl, but Sám Mirzá states that this mathnaví remained incomplete.[3] The statement of Aḥsan-ut-Twáríkh shows that it was completed.[4] Another authentic source of Mír 'Alí's Majális-u'n-Nafá'is does not mention the fifth mathnaví. Instead of Taimurnáma he states Zafar Náma which was in reply to Sikandar Náma.[5] While Sám Mirzá writes that Hatifí wrote Taimúr Náma in reply to Sikandar Náma:

1 Aḥsan, p. 224.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, pp. 94-95.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
4 Aḥsan p. 174.
5 Majālis-un-Nafāis, p. 62.

IRAN SOCIETY

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Sixteenth Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society was held at 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 27th February, 1960, at 3-30 P.M. with Dr. P. C. Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., J.P., President of the Society, in the chair.

The following members were present:-

Dr. P. C. Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., J.P.
Mr. S. N. Modak, M.A., B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S (Retd.).
Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J
Mr. Rustam T. Saklath
Mr. M. A. A. Kashani
Mr. M. A. Majid, B.A. (Hons.)
Mr. M. H. Haq, B.L., Attorney-at-Law.
Mr. Mohd. Amin, M.A.
Mr. Khalilur Rahman, M.A.
Mr. Md. Qamaruddin, M.A
Mr. Martyrose Martin
Mr. A. Majid
Mr. Mohd. Israil
Mr Lutfur Rahman
Lady Ranu Mookerjee
Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.A.S., M.P.
Prof. Mohammad Ismail, M.A., B.E.S.
Prof. Wajihuddin Ahmad, M.A.
Mr. S. H. Marvala
Mr. Biswanath Roy
Prof. Abdur Rauf, M.A.
Prof. Asit Kumar Sen, M.A.
Mr. Hashim Halim, M.Com.
Miss K. Jalil, M A.
Mrs. Zohra Khan
Mr. Hardatta Rai Sugla, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B.
Mr. A. K. M. Munsef Ali, M.A., LL.B.
Mrs. Rabia Hussain, B.A.
Mr. Abdus Subhan Khan, M.A.
Mr. A. N. Md. Abdul Khaleq
Dr. Hiralall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt.
Miss Husn Banu, M.A.
Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A., B.E.S.
Mr. Fazlur Rahman, B.A. (Hons.)
Mr. F. R. Baqi
Prof. Fatima Mahmud, M.A.
Mr. K. M. Yusuf, M.A., LL.B.
Prof. Satyaranjan Banerjee, M.A.
Principal Masood Hasan, M.A.
Prof. Ata Karim Burke, M.A., M.Litt. (Teheran)
Mr. S. M. Tarzi
Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.A.S,

. At 3-30 P.M. the President declared the Sixteenth Annual General Meeting open and votes (by ballot) for the election of Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1960-61 were recorded till 4 P.M.

The Chairman appointed Mr. Khalilur Rahman, M.A., and Mr. Abdus Subhan Khan, M.A. as scrutineers.

The Secretary read the following messages received on the occasion:—

(1) The Secretary to the Governor, West Bengal, in his letter D.O. No. 1094G dated the 25th February, 1960 conveyed to the General Secretary the Governor's message:

> "Shrimati Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal desired me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th February, 1960 and to convey her good wishes on the occasion of the Sixteenth Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society, Calcutta proposed to be held on the 27th February, 1960."

(2) Mr. Kalwant Singh, Private Secretary to Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi, in his letter dated the 26th February, 1960, sent to the General Secretary the following message:—

> "Professor Kabir is glad to hear that the Iran Society, Calcutta, is holding its sixteenth Annual General Meeting on February 27th.
>
> As he went away on tour, he asked me to send his good wishes to the Society and expressed the hope that it will continue to strengthen the bond of friendship between the two countries."

(3) His Excellency Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi, Ambassador for Iran in New Delhi sent the message which runs as follows:—

> "I am pleased to know that the Sixteenth Annual General Meeting of Iran Society is being held on the 27th of February, 1960.
>
> While conveying my best wishes on this auspicious occasion I hope that the Society will continue for long her endeavours for strengthening the Cultural ties between the two countries. It was the good spirit of work in the Secretariate of Society that the Imperial Iranian Ministry of Education has sent another lump sum of Rs. 90,000|- for the construction of Iran House.
>
> I hope that very soon the Society will start functioning in its own building with new zeal and the next annual meeting will be held in the new premises.
>
> Wishing the Society every success."

(4) Message from His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul General for Iran in Calcutta:—

> "The World is a mountain and our action an echo
> With this mountain, our voice is re-echoed.
>
> It is a matter of pride that the Iran Society is celebrating its

16th Annual General Meeting today the 7th of Isfand, 1338, *i.e.* 27th February, 1960.

The literary and useful activities of the Society during these sixteen years have strengthened the cultural ties between Iran and India and brought both the countries closer to each other.

Iran and India are the two brilliant stars in the firmament of the East which have constantly shed lustre of wisdom and philosophy on the culture of the world for the last 2500 years.

Perhaps in the long span of history both these countries could not adequately come nearer to each other but today on account of the abundant interest which His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlevi shows in Indo-Iranian cultural relations, these ties of cultural exchange, by the grace of God, have further strengthened and are strengthening more and more. The activities of this Society are known throughout India and Iran and the publications of this great Organization are means for strengthening cultural relations between the two countries. The co-operation of Iranian and Indian scholars is the fulfilment of the aims and objects of the Society.

The Imperial Government of Iran has always watched the progress of the Society with keenest interest and it is therefore that whenever help is sought from it, it has given it with pleasure.

The Imperial Government of Iran has accorded recognition to the efforts of the Indian scholars which they have been doing for the propagation of Iranian studies.

The Education Ministry of Iran has deputed a senior member as Director of the Cultural House and for teaching Persian language and literature here.

During last year the services of four members of this Society were appreciated and in recognition of their services they were awarded Medals and Sanads in an impressive function held at the Imperial Consulate General of Iran and this is a sufficient proof that the Government of Iran takes note of the activities of this Society with very great interest and is perfectly aware of them.

Now that the Iran Society is contemplating to have its own building with the name of "Iran House", the Government of Iran has responded to the request of the Society with a firm affirmative so as to enable the Society to succeed in its contemplated venture.

It is hoped that this House will ever prove to be the "torch of knowledge" and a permanent memory in the city of Calcutta—a premier metropolis of the East and its light will ever spread the rays of wisdom and knowledge and will remain immune from all kinds of storms and inclemencies.

I offer hearty thanks on behalf of my Government to Dr. Chunder, the President and other members of the Society especially to Dr. Mohammad Ishaque, the General Secretary who are all lovers of cultural contacts between Iran and India and I wish them success in their sacred venture and I pray for my dear friend Dr. Mohammad Ishaque to be endowed with success in his cultural pursuits.

Long live friendship of Iran and India !

The Secretary read the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of the Society held on the 9th March, 1959, which being duly proposed for confirmation by Dr. H. L. Chopra and seconded by Mr. H. R. Sugla were confirmed unanimously.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report for the year 1959, which being proposed for adoption by Dr. Hira Lall Chopra and seconded by Mr. H. R. Sugla was unanimously adopted.

The Hony. Treasurer, Mr. Rustam T. Saklath, presented the audited accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1959 and the Budget Estimates for the year 1960.

Mr. H. R. Sugla suggested that as the copies of the audited Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1959 and the Budget Estimates for the year 1960 had already been circulated among the members, the accounts be considered as read.

The Chairman put Mr. Sugla's proposal to vote and the same carried unanimously.

Thereupon Rev. Fr. V. Courtois proposed that the Audited Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1959 and the Budget Estimates for the year 1960 be adopted. Dr. Hira Lall Chopra seconded the proposal. The Audited Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1959 and the Budget Estimates for the year 1960 were unanimously adopted.

The Chairman Dr. P. C. Chunder then read his Presidential Address.

The scrutineers Mr. Khalilur Rahman and Mr. Abdus Subhan Khan communicated in writing the results of voting to the Chairman who declared the following Office-bearers and Members of the Council of the Iran Society for the 1960-61 duly elected:--

President:

Dr. P. C. Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., J.P.

Vice-Presidents:

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.
Mr. M. Ali Akber Kashani

Hony. Treasurer:

Mr. Rustam T. Saklath

General Secretary:

Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.A.S.

Asst. Secretary:

Mr. M. Abdul Majid, B.A. (Hons.)

Members:

Mr. Fazlur Rahman, B.A. (Hons.)
Mr. K. M. Yusuf, M.A., LL.B.
Principal V. Poladian, M.A.
Mr. H. R. Sugla, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B.
Mr. Al-Hadj Khalil Adlkhah
Dr. N. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Lond.), F.A.S., M.P.
Mr. G. M. Taher
Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A., B.E.S.
Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Teheran)

Thereafter Rev. Fr. V. Courtois welcoming and garlanding the President-elect, Dr. P. C. Chunder, said:

"It is with real pleasure that in the name of all I welcome back to the Presidential Chair, Dr. P. C. Chunder. This garland of roses, roses of Isfahan, are a token of our appreciation and a symbol of our goodwill.

In his Presidential Address Dr. P. C. Chunder has chalked out a full programme of various kinds of activities which should certainly add lustre to the Iran Society and help her in fulfilling her aims and objects. We are sure now that Dr. P. C. Chunder will be there to give us the inspiration and the lead we may need to realise the details of the plan he has so enthusiastically described before us."

The President Dr. P. C. Chunder, after being installed in the Presidential Chair, said:—

"I am deeply grateful to the members of the Society for their renewed confidence in me. I reiterate the appeal already made in my address to the members cordially calling upon them to devote some part of their time for furthering the noble objects of the Society. With such co-operation the activities of the Society will be increased in different spheres. I have little more to add than to thank the members once again for re-electing me to the office of the President of the Iran Society."

Dr. Hiralall Chopra proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair said:—

"In proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the President for conducting the proceedings of this sixteenth annual general meeting, I consider it my duty to support the suggestion of the President that we should try to know more about modern Iran and her aspirations rather than her glorious past.

As a matter of fact Indian scholars of Persian devote themselves more to medieval Iran and her literature; but very few efforts have been made to learn about the progress Iran has made during the last

twenty years under the benign leadership of her youthful monarch H.I.M. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi Iran during the last twenty years has changed tremendously and the political, economic and cultural progress she has made is exemplary among the countries of the Middle East. The visits of H.I.M. the Shah to India in 1955 and that of Prime Minister Nehru to Iran in 1959 have strengthened the cultural bonds between India and Iran. The celebration of 25th Centenary of Monarchy in 1961 will coincide with the centenary of Poet Rabindranath Tagore and various cultural associations of Iran are contemplating to celebrate it with éclat. It is high time that we in India should also try to understand the institution of benevolent monarchy of Iran which has existed there for 2500 years without a break and we must participate in these significant deliberations to further strengthen the ties of Indo-Iranian friendship.

Iran Society and its publications are looked upon with regard in Iran to-day and people have a genuine respect for our country though politically we may be following different paths. Iranians are trying to understand post-independence India through the recent sympathetic works of Dr. A. A. Hekmat and other intelligentsia who are ceaselessly working for creating good will among people of India and Iran.

The stress Dr. Chunder has laid on the necessity of an appraisal of the cultural aspect of Modern Iran is very timely. Iran has shaken off a good deal of superstition, orthodoxy and dogmatism which we see in other neighbouring eastern countries and to-day Iran is marching rapidly towards progress and an ideal welfare state under the guidance of her well-illumined monarch and the day is not far-off when Iran shall favourably vie with advanced countries of Europe and America. India has in the past learnt a great deal from Iran and the schooling in India began with Persian classics. India can learn much more from Iran in the present as to how to get rid of narrow communalism, parochialism and religious bias and to show to the world a true secularism in action and practice rather than in theory alone.

Iran Society deserves congratulations of all lovers of universal brotherhood and peace for inculcating this spirit of fraternity and co-operation in all its activities. With these few words I thank the President for guiding the Society for the last one year and his re-election to this office for the current year is an ample proof of the fact that the members have reposed their full confidence in him and his aspirations in the fulfilment of which they will give him their unstinted support."

The President declared the meeting closed.

President :

Dr. P. C. Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., Attorney-at-Law

Vice-Presidents :

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.
Lady Ranu Mookerjee

Hony. Treasurer :

Mr. Rustam T. Saklath

General Secretary :

Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), F.A.S.

Asstt. Secretary :

Mr. M. A. Majid, B.A. (Hons.)

Members :

Mr. S. N. Modak, M.A., B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S. (Retd.)
Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem, S.J.
Principal V. Poladian, M.A.
Mr. Fazlur Rahman, B.A. (Hons.)
Mr. H. R. Sugla, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B.
Mr. M. Ali Akbar Kashani
Mr. K. M. Yusuf, M.A., LL.B.
Mr. T. M. Zarif
Dr. M. Saber Khan, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)

Thereafter Mr. S. N. Modak welcoming and garlanding the President-elect, Dr. P. C. Chunder, said:-

> " I heartily welcome my friend Dr. P. C. Chunder to the Presidential Chair which I am vacating. Dr. Chunder, as you know, carries a very wise head on his young shoulders, and I am sure that under his able guidance the Iran Society will prosper more and more in the years to come."

The President-elect Dr. P. C. Chunder was then conducted to the Presidential Chair.

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, then, garlanding the outgoing President Mr. S. N. Modak, and thanking him for the valuable services rendered by him to the Society and welcoming Dr. P. C. Chunder as President said:—

> " It is my privilege today to be able to express the Iran Society's gratitude to Mr. S. N. Modak, our outgoing President, for his fine

record whilst in the Presidential Chair of the Society. On three different occasions Mr. Modak was elected to the presidentship of the Society, and that alone is a manifest sign of the high esteem in which the members of the Society held Mr. Modak. The years during which Mr. Modak served as President were difficult and momentous ones. It is said that at teething time a child is wont to fret, and the Society had its teething time when Mr. Modak was called in the first time to preside over the management of its affairs. Some elements were then trying to harm the reputation of the Society or create a division among its members. Thanks to his great tact and much kindness, Mr. Modak was able to remove the tension, create new sympathies for the Society and get it on the way to definite progress. During Mr. Modak's tenure of office, the Society, through its publications and cultural activities, has imposed itself to the notice of the Governments of India and Iran and drawn the attention of the learned Societies in India and abroad. The finances of the Society have made considerable progress so much so that the Society may soon see the realisation of her dream of an "Iran House."

Mr. Modak is leaving the Presidential Chair, but not the Council of the Society where we shall still be able to profit by his wise advice and guidance.

Dr. P. C. Chunder, our new President, is not a new-comer. He has been connected with the Society for many years and was particularly active at the time of the millenary celebrations in honour of Al-Biruni when he contributed considerably to make them a success. We are glad to welcome him to the Presidential Chair of the IRAN SOCIETY. We wish him as prosperous a tenure as the one of our outgoing President. We can assure him of our most willing collaboration."

The President Dr. P. C. Chunder replying to the felicitations offered by Mr. S. N. Modak and Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, said:

"I thank the members of the Society for having elected me to that office which had been held by eminent educationists and able administrators. This international Society has taught me the first practical lesson in friendship among nations. I eulogise the ceaseless efforts of its founder-Secretary, Dr. M. Ishaque, who has always guided its activities with commendable ability. I hope that the Society's dream of having a home of its own will be realised in the near future."

Mr. Martyrose Martin proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair and the President declared the meeting closed.

Committees and Editorial Board

The Council of the Iran Society at its meeting held on the 20th March, 1959 constituted the following Committees and the Editorial Board of the *Indo-Iranica* for the year 1959-60 consisting of members as noted under each:—

(I) *Finance Committee:*

Mr. Rustam T. Saklath (Chairman and Convener), Mr. H. R. Sugla,

Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Mr. M. Abdul Majid, and Dr. M. Ishaque, with power to co-opt.

(II) *Library Committee*:

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. (Chairman), Dr. M. S. Khan, Mr. A. K. Burke, Mr. M. A. Majid, Mr. K. M. Yusuf, Prof. K. M. Maitra, Mr. Taraprasad Mitra (Ward Councillor), and Dr. M. Ishaque, with power to co-opt.

(III) *Nashriyah-i-Iran Committee*:

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois (Chairman and Convener), and Dr. M. Ishaque, with power to co-opt.

(IV) *Social and Cultural Committee*:

Principal V. Poladian (Chairman and Convener), Mr. M. A. Majid, Mr. K. M. Yusuf, Miss Taj Abdul Currim, and Dr. M. Ishaque, with power to co-opt.

(V) *Persian Language Class Committee*:

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., Mr. A. K. Burke, Dr. M. S. Khan, and Dr. M. Ishaque, with power to co-opt.

(His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Mr. Al-Hadj Khalil Adlkhah and Dr. H. L. Chopra were co-opted on 21-9-'59)

(VI) *Land Acquisition Committee*:

Dr. P. C. Chunder (Chairman and Convener), Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. T. M. Zarif, Mr. Rustam T. Saklath and Dr. M. Ishaque, with power to co-opt.

(VII) *Editorial Board of the Indo-Iranica*:

Resident Editors: Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. M. L. Roychoudhury, Prof. Masood Hasan, Mr. Ata Karim Burke and Dr. M. S. Khan ; *Corresponding Editors*: His Excellency Dr. A. A Hekmat, Prof. Hadi Hasan, Mr. M. H. M. Faridani, Dr. M. A. Muid Khan, and Dr. H. L. Chopra; *Managing Editor*: Dr. M. Ishaque.

Obituary

We are sad to announce the sudden demise on the 6th January, 1959 of one of our distinguished patrons Aminu'l-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., C.I.E., O.B.E. The members will remember that Sir Mirza donated Rs. 5000/- to the Society.

We are also sad to inform the members of the Society that Mr. M. H. Kashani, the first President of the Iran Society, died on the 26th June, 1959. He was one of the founder-members and evinced a keen interest in the Society.

Also we unfortunately lost Mr. Syed Hasan Burney, an Ordinary Member of the Iran Society since 1947. He was an erudite scholar and

was sympathetically interested in our Society. He participated as delegate in the Millenary celebrations of Al-Biruni and Avicenna held in 1952 and 1956 respectively.

The Council at its meetings held on the 6th February, the 26th June and the 13th November, 1959 respectively passed resolutions of condolence, all the members present standing in silence for two minutes as a mark of respect in their memories.

Maulana Azad's Portrait unveiled

On the 3rd July, 1959, before a distinguished gathering at the Iran Society the Hon'ble Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, performed the unveilling ceremony of the portrait of the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta; Major-General S. C. Misra, G.O.C. Eastern Command, 20th Division; Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council; Brigadier-General H. A. Razmara of Iran and Dr. D. M. Sen, Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, were among the elite who attended the function.

Portrait of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran

His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta, kindly presented to the Iran Society a gold framed portrait of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran. We thank His Excellency for his kind presentation.

Distinguished Visitor

On the 1st May, 1959, a warm reception was accorded to His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta. Members of the Society and many distinguished guests attended the function. An address of welcome was presented to His Excellency.

Representations

The Council at its meeting held on the 2nd January, 1959, nominated Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. as representative of the Iran Society to serve on the Board of Management of the Abdul Halim Travelling Fellowship of the Calcutta University.

Prof. M. S. Khan, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.) was nominated by the Council at its meeting held on the 20th March, 1959 as representative

of the Iran Society to serve on the Board of Adjudicators for the award of the Zainal Abedin Gold Medal of the Calcutta University for 1959.

Award of Medals and Sanads

The Ministry of Education, Government of Iran, were pleased to award Medals and *Sanads* to four prominent members of the Iran Society in recognition of their services for promoting the cause of Indo-Iranian cultural relations. They are:

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., Vice-President of the Iran Society.

Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.A.S., General-Secretary of the Iran Society.

Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Teheran), an Editor of the *Indo-Iranica*.

Mr. M. A. A. Kashani, a Member of the Council of the Iran Society.

At an impressive function held at the Consulate-General of Iran in Calcutta on Saturday, the 3rd October, 1959, which was attended by a large number of members of the Iran Society, diplomats and elite of the city, His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta, awarded the Medals and *Sanads* to the receipients.

Persian Language Classes

We are glad to inform the members that the long cherished Persian Language Classes were inaugurated on the 10th March, 1959 at the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University.

We offer our grateful thanks to the Ministry of Education, Government of Iran, for sending Mr. M. Kamgar Parsi for holding these classes at their own expense. We thank Mr. Ata Karim Burke, M.A., M.Litt. (Tehran) for assisting Mr. M. Kamgar Parsi in holding the classes.

Mr. Kamgar Parsi returned to Iran in May and resumed his duties on the 28th November. During the absence of Mr. Kamgar Parsi, classes were held from 15-6-59 to 8-9-59 by Al-Hadj Aqa Khalil Adlkhah. We sincerely thank him for helping the Iran Society by holding these classes successfully. As time would not permit Mr. Adlkhah to continue holding these classes, His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta, kindly deputed Mr. Mujtaba Nawabi, an official of the Consulate-General to hold the classes till the return of Mr. M. Kamgar Parsi. Mr. Nawabi held classes till the 28th November, 1959.

It is proposed that there should be two years' course—Elementary

and Advance; and that Diplomas bearing the signatures of the Iranian Ambassador in India and a representative of the Iran Society should be granted to successful candidates.

We also offer our thanks to Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Secretary, University Colleges of arts and Commerce, for kindly allowing our Persian Language classes to be held at the Asutosh Building up to the end of September, 1959. At present these classes are held in the premises of the Iran Society.

We earnestly hope that these classes will prove a good instrument for the improvement of teaching in Persian in West Bengal.

Donations exempted from Income-tax

Mr. H. R. Sugla, B.A. (Hons.), LL.B., deserves our heartfelt thanks for the kind help he rendered in getting the donations to the Iran Society exempted from Income-tax under Section 15B of the Income-tax Act, 1922. It was through his initiative and endeavour that the Society obtained the exemption.

Books Received as Presentation

Our library has been lucky enough to receive as presentation about 300 books from different organisations. The University of Tehran, alone, through the kind endeavour of Mr. A. A. Zand, In-charge of Cultural Affairs, Iranian Embassy, New Delhi, presented 258 of its publications to the Society. The India Book House, Calcutta, donated 20 books (41 Volumes) to our library.

We have also been fortunate in receiving a grant-in-aid of Rs. 386.50 for the year 1956-57 from the Education Department, Calcutta, Corporation.

We thank the authorities of the University of Tehran ; the India Book House, Calcutta ; Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi ; Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay and the Education Officer, Calcutta Corporation, for the kind help rendered to the library of the Society.

Indo-Iranica

In December 1959, the Iran Society's quarterly organ *Indo-Iranica* completed its twelfth volume ; volume thirteenth will commence from March, 1960.

It may be recalled that the journal is published under the patronage of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi.

We are thankful to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, and the Education Directorate, Government of West Bengal, for

the generous grants made towards the printing and publication of the journal.

Publications

Our members will be glad to know that the Society published the following two works during the year under review:—

(i) *Kashmir under the Sultans* by Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Reader, Muslim University, Aligarh.

(ii) *Contribution to Modern Persian Dialectology: The Luri and Dizfuli Dialects* by Dr. J. M. Unvala.

25th Centenary of Shahanshahi in Iran

The Iran Government is going to celebrate in 1961 the 25th centenary of the Monarchy in Iran. Extensive preparations in this direction are already in progress. Many European countries have founded Societies of friends and well-wishers of Iran for acquainting the people with the institution of the Shahanshahi in Iran and the life and culture of the Iranian people.

The Council of the Iran Society at its meeting held on the 22nd December, 1959, also resolved to form a separate committee consisting of representatives of cross-sections of the people of West Bengal for drawing up and giving effect to such a programme in a befitting manner.

Grant of Stipend

Our members will remember that on the recommendation of the Finance Committee, the Council at its meeting held on the 14th August, 1958, created two stipends of Rs. 12/- each per month for two poor meritorious students (one for the 5th year and the other for the 6th year), studying Persian in the M.A. classes of the Calcutta University. One such stipend was awarded to Mr. Najmuddin Ahmad, a student of the 6th year Persian Class for one year with effect from the 1st June, 1959.

Donations received

As stated in our last Annual Report the Society received a donation of one lac *Rials* (Rs. 6193.87) from the Iran Government, Ministry of Education, through the recommendation of His Excellency Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi, Ambassador for Iran in India.

We are glad to inform the members that on the 10th September, 1959, the Society received a generous donation of Rs. 1000/- towards its building fund from Al-Hadj Aqa Khalil Adlkhah. We offer our heartfelt thanks to Mr. Adlkhah for his kind donation.

Annual Subsidies received

We offer our grateful thanks to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, for donating the usual annual grant of Rs. 10,000/- to the Society for publication of its quarterly organ the *Indo-Iranica* for 1959.

We also thank the Ministry of Education, Government of Iran, for the annual subsidy of Rs. 2000/- for the *solar* year 1338 (21-3-59 to 20-3-60) received through His Excellency Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi, Ambassador for Iran in New Delhi.

The Society is also grateful to the Education Directorate, Government of West Bengal, for their annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 500/- for the year 1959-60 towards the publication of the journals etc. of the Society.

Iran House

It is for years that the Society is trying to have a building of its own. We are glad to inform the members that our dream of an *Iran House* is going to be materialised soon. The Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, have sanctioned Rs. 1,50,000/- and the Government of Iran, Ministry of Education, one million *Rials* towards the Building Fund of the Society.

Our heartfelt gratitude is due to the Hon'ble Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India and Their Excellencies Dr. A. A. Hekmat, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iran, Minister of Education, Iran, Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi, Ambassador for Iran in India, and Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta for their kind patronage.

We were negotiating to purchase a palatial building situated at 226/1, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta, at Rs. 3,50,000/-, but unfortunately the vendor of the above premises suddenly died of heart failure on the 31st of December, 1958.

Membership

At present the Society has seven *Patrons* and five *Honorary*, ninety-eight *Life*, fifty-two *Ordinary* and three *Student* members as per list given below. All the members are earnestly requested to induce their friends to join us to strengthen the Cultural relationships between Iran and India.

IRAN SOCIETY—CALCUTTA

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1959.

FUNDS.	Rs nP.
General Fund	283 23
Albiruni Commemoration Volume Fund	2,094 06
Avicenna Commemoration volume Fund	3,677.58
Dr. M. Ishaque Publication Fund	647.76
Glimpes of Persian Literature Fund	798.75
Nashriya-i- Iran Fund	4,367.19
Building Fund	73,453.18
Persian Language Class Fund	534.46
The Lury & Dizfuli Dialects Fund	319 38
Library Fund	362.50
Abdul Halim Memorial Fund (Kashmir under the Sultans).	2,287.22
Suspense Account.	40.84
	Rs. 88,866.15

ASSETS.	Rs nP.	Rs. nP.
FURNITURE :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	1,779 00	
Less Depreciation	107.00	1,672.00
INVESTMENTS AT COST :—		
3½% Ten Years Treasury Bond with Reserve Bank of India	10,000.00	.....
3% G. P. Notes with the Central Bank of India Ltd	4,009.66	......
Short-Term Deposits with the Central Bank of India Ltd.	48,000.00	62,009.66
Indo-Iranica Fund (Deficit)	......	511.43
Stock of Books (As certified by the General Secretary).	......	11,831.99
CASH & BANK BALANCES :—		
Central Bank of India Ltd.	12,791.07	
In Hand.	50.00	12,841.07
		Rs. 88,866.15

I beg to report that I have audited the Balance Sheet of the Iran Society, as at 31st. December, 1959. I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required and in my opinion such Balance Sheet is drawn up in conformity with the law and the Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the best of information and explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

Calcutta, 4-2-1960.

J. C. GOSWAMI,
Chartered Accountant.



Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.
Re-elected President of the Iran Society for 1960-61.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER, M.A., LL.B., D.PHIL., J.P.

AT THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

IRAN SOCIETY

Fellow-Members, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Iran Society has just completed sixteen years of its existence. During the year as the President of the Society I had the proud privilege of presiding over its deliberations. I am deeply grateful to the members of the Society for having elected me to this high office. I thank all my colleagues in the Council who ardently helped me in conducting its meetings with a spirit of friendliness. This office of the President was in the past filled by some distinguished educationists and administrators. By electing me to this office at a comparatively young age, my fellow-members had in fact put their trust in the youth of our country.

Of late, several institutions have been founded in India, particularly in Calcutta. for promoting international understanding. The Iran Society was established many years ago to realise this high ideal. At the time when India was still a dependent country and had no honoured place in the comity of independent nations, the Iran Society was founded with the object of cementing the friendly relation already existing between these two ancient countries. India and Iran. I am full of admiration for its Founder-Secretary, Dr. M. Ishaque, who is really one of the pioneers in India in the field of promoting international co-operation through non-official channel. Almost since the foundation of the Society I had joined it as an ordinary member and for some time served it as a member of its Council. In fact, my training in the field of international co-operation on a private level was imbibed for the first time through the Iran Society. Whenever I am invited to foreign countries, as for instance the Peoples' Republic of China in 1955. the United States of America in 1958 and the Soviet Union in 1959. I always in my mind express my gratitude to the Iran Society and its Founder-Secretary Dr. Ishaque who had initiated me into this laudable task of fostering friendly relations among nations through private enterprise.

The age-old link between India and Iran has been elaborately stressed in many of the presidential addresses delivered by my predecessors-in-office. I do not think any useful purpose will be served by its repetition. I can speak of things closer home. Bengal, in particular, is much indebted to Iran and its literature and culture. It is a well-known fact that Ram Mohan Roy was proficient in Persian. Poet Tagore visited Iran and expressed his deep admiration for the country. Many gems of Iranian literature, as for instance the *Sháhnáma*, the *Rubá'iyyát* of 'Umar Khayyám and the *Gulistán*, have been translated into Bengali by different writers. These, no doubt, have enriched Bengali literature immensely. There are scores of Persian words which are commonly used in Bengali language and, in particular, in our law courts, where English is not the court language. If Bengali literature to-day is one of the richest in the world its wealth is augmented to a large extent through its loans from the great literature of Iran. I can only hope and pray that this process should not come to an end since our independence. On the other hand, through the efforts of organisations like ours there should be more and more exchange of scientific and cultural ideas, translations, travelling followships, visiting professors and the like, so that the social and cultural life of both the countries might derive benefit of a lasting nature.

Since independence India is drawn into the complexities of international problems and through the able guidance of our illustrious Prime Minister Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, our country has made her mark in the field of international politics. Although our country is not strong in arms, its moral strength has been recognised by other powers in the world. The policy of non-alignment which our country has followed, and still follows, so scrupulously against heavy odds is gradually gaining recognition even from the Great Powers who are armed to their teeth. What were warring camps in a cold war are turning into camps of friendly hospitality. The ideal of peaceful co-existence has now caught the imagination of the peoples of the world and forms to-day the great incentive to the promotion of progress and prosperity among mankind. What the Iran Society does and seeks to do on a modest scale between two ancient countries, international organisations do on a grand scale among nations. Our ideals are similar. While the governments of different countries have to come in contact with one another on the international platform, individuals, I believe, have a responsibility to contribute their mite towards the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. The task of the governments or, for that matter, the United Nations Organisation will be much easier if individuals throughout the world have a love for peace and a desire for universal

brotherhood and give expression to the same by their conduct in daily life. To this end, a Society like ours has an important rôle to play. It can guide individuals, as it does, to sponsor the noble ideals of international understanding.

To achieve this objective the Iran Society has done a lot. It has enrolled its members without distinction as to race, religion, language, caste, colour or creed. It publishes the Indo-Iranica, its organ for linking up India with Iran in a cultural and intellectual bond. It celebrates anniversaries to focus our attention on the great internationalists of the Medieval World, like Al-Birúní and Ibn Síná. With the kind assistance of the Government of Iran it holds classes to enable our countrymen to learn the Persian language. Yet, to my mind, it has much more to do. It should promote research projects so that young intellectuals might delve deep into the treasures of Indian and Iranian scholarship and either country might benefit from the experience of the other through research publications. It should also direct its appeals to the common mass who have not the time or the mental equipment to go through the complex academic works. To meet their demands the Society should have pamphlets, lectures, programmes and other functions on a popular level. Not only literature but music, paintings, arts, architecture and other aspects of cultural life of those two countries ought to be made familiar even to the ordinary people. I, for myself, would like the publication of a large number of popular works in different Indian languages depicting the life and cultural traditions of the great Iranian people. There should be cultural shows where we could watch Iranian dances and hear Iranian songs, both old and new. I would not be satisfied with the answer to the query, " What was Iran in the past?" I do like to know more of its present aspirations and achievements. In the like manner, I should also like to convey our aspirations and achievements to our brethren in Iran. I hope under the initiative of our energetic Founder-Secretary Dr. M. Ishaque, the Society will be able to take a lead in the field I have indicated just now.

But a crying need for the Society is a house of its own. Several of my predecessors-in-office have stressed this point. Fortunately for our Society, Iran House may not be far way off. But for the sudden death of the vendor who offered to sell a valuable house to the Society we would have by now been able to establish the Iran House in Calcutta. I express my grateful thanks to the Governments of Iran and India for their generous offer of monetary help for the purchase of the Iran House in our cosmopolitan city. I should also like to record my deep appreciation of the munificence of several donors, particularly Mr. M. A. A. Kashani, who had contributed towards the building fund of the Society.

I believe in course of the next year we shall be able to hold our meetings in the Society's own premises.

Yet no useful purpose will be served by having a house of our own if the members of our Society are not actively interested in furthering its objects. The members are the life and soul of the Society. I should therefore, make a fervent appeals to my fellow-members to take more active interest in the works of the Society. If they can devote some part of their time every week we could do a lot of more work, particularly in the line I have ventured to suggest just now. They can, for instance, organise such meetings and cultural functions or at least join them in large numbers so that the organisers might be enthused by their active participation.

In this connection, I should like to remind my fellow-members that next year Iran is going to celebrate 2,500 years of Sháhansháhí in the country. We, the citizens of Calcutta, particularly the members of this Society, have a rôle to play in making our people acquainted with the importance of the celebrations. I should also solicit the co-operation of my fellow-members, and through them the citizens of Calcutta, in achieving this object. In the same manner, I should like to remind our brethren in Iran that next year along with India different countries in the World will celebrate the centenary of the birth of Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, who, incidentally, did so much to bring Iran closer to India, even when India had not achieved her independence. I would naturally expect that Iran would reciprocate our feeling of deep reverence for the great poet and celebrate the centenary in a befitting manner.

Before I conclude, let me quote a well-known passage from Sa'di:

> "A scholar without diligence is a lover without money,
> A traveller without knowledge is a bird without wings,
> A theorist without practice is a tree without fruit,
> A devotee without learning is a house without an entrance."

Let us, therefore, put our theories into practice

THE INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS

On February 21st, 1960 the Indian Council For Cultural Relations held in New Delhi its annual meeting of the General Assembly. A good many members were present. The Iran Society was represented by its Vice-President, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.

The Sessions were held under the chairmanship of Prof. Humayun Kabir, President of the I.C.C.R. and Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India.

We give below some extracts from the President's inaugural speech.

The President's Speech:--

Friends,

I have very great pleasure in welcoming you again to this annual general meeting of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. The General Assembly is meeting after one year.

But during this period we have had a number of meetings of the Governing Body and we have tried within the limitations of our resources, and to the best of our ability, to carry out some of the directions and policies laid down by the General Council last time.

You will remember that the main purpose of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations is twofold: one is to project Indian culture abroad and to bring to other peoples in other countries some idea of the variety, multiplicity and the richness of Indian culture and also make them familiar with the spirit in which Indian culture has developed throughout the ages, a spirit in which there has been an attempt to achieve unity in diversity, to recognise itself in others and not to suppress. Sometimes I have described this as the principle of federalism in human conduct, not only federalism in political affairs but federalism in every aspect of human thought, activity and life. One of the major contributions of India to the development of world culture and civilization has been this emphasis on the federal aspect, an aspect where every unit is given freedom to develop in its own way, and there is no attempt to suppress or regiment individuality, whether in the case of single persons or of groups. In this task, the Indian Council has been trying to present every important phase of Indian Culture to the world outside it. The other aspect of the problem is, of course, to make the people of India more definitely conscious of the immense varieties of cultures and civilizations in the world and to develop in our own people a more immediate awareness of these human relationships present in the back-

ground of our minds and which to-day, in the context of modern scientific developments, can no longer remain in the background but must become a part of the texture of our waking moments and of our consciousness.

In trying to carry out this programme, the old projects which you had already accepted and approved have, of course, been continued. We have Indian professors in a number of countries, and we have been sending distinguished representatives of India to various parts of the world. Our Vice-President, Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar, has himself recently visited some parts of Africa, Madagascar and Mauritius. We have also helped, sometimes partly sometimes wholly, in the deputation of other distinguished representatives to other parts of the world: this programme will be continued.

One new development which I like to mention to you, - it had been hinted at the last General Assembly Meeting, - is the decision of the University of Melbourne in Australia to have a Chair of Indian Studies: the preliminary arrangements have all been made. Thanks to the co-operation of the Spalding Trust of Oxford, the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, and the University of Melbourne a Department of Indian Studies is to be opened in the University; and it is expected to start functioning early this year. The Professor in charge, who is to be the first head of the Department, will be an Indian. We do not know as yet who it will be. The University of Melbourne has invited requests from well-known Indian scholars. They are looking not for a narrow specialist, but for a broad humanitarian scholar, with a fair knowledge of Indian history, Indian philosophy and literature and perhaps a special emphasis on any one of those three aspects.

We hope that during the current year, it will be possible to help in the establishment of similar Chairs of Indian Studies in other parts of the world. This will mark a somewhat new development because in the past Indology, or the study of Indian concepts, has generally concentrated on linguistics, or some particular aspects of Indian philosophy or religion. We have had a number of very distinguished scholars in other countries who have been great authorities in their own fields, but because of their concentration within a limited and special field of study, they have not always appealed to the general body of students. When therefore this project was being discussed in Australia two years ago, I suggested to the authorities of the University that we prefer a larger number of people to know something about India rather than a few people to know almost all there is to be known of a particular aspect of India. And it is from this point of view that this Department of Indian Studies at Melbourne has been organized and I have every hope that similar departments may be opened in other parts of the world.

In order to give people outside India some idea of the way in which Indian civilization and culture have developed throughout the ages, we are planning to bring out a series of brochures on different aspects of Indian life. The one on Indian Dances is almost complete. There will be other brochures on Indian costumes, painting, music, customs and a parallel series on the major Indian languages. We feel that if India is made known to the outside world through her literature, art, philosophy and religion, if books are made accessible to the general public, to the lay public, to the common man in these countries, all this will contribute more to the understanding of the Indian point of view in these countries and bring the people nearer one another, than would concentrating on certain special fields. The reverse of that process is to bring the world outside more vividly to the people in India.

We have pursued the programme of inviting distinguished people of all types. We want to invite teen-agers as well as elderly people, hoping that this variety in age range also will help to a better understanding by the Indian People of the way in which some of the contemporary cultures are changing.

One of the most important lessons in the world to-day, and one of the most important things today, is friendship among people who differ in so many respects. I do not think there will ever be a time when all human beings will speak one common language; there will never be a time when all men will be one; there will never be a time when all men will have exactly the same social organizations, or political organizations or beliefs. And therefore, the sooner we accept the fact of these divergences the better for all concerned. From that point of view, some of the activities which this Council has undertaken and proposing to undertake to emphasize the special need for understanding between divergent systems and customs, habits, traditions and cultures —that is the aspect and the problem which should still further be emphasized.



OURSELVES

With this issue *Indo-Iranica*, the quarterly organ of the Iran Society, enters the thirteenth year of its publication.

The year 1959 was a year of all-round constructive activities for the Iran Society. The long cherished Persian Language Classes commenced functioning under the auspices of the Society through the grateful assistance of the Ministry of Education, Government of Iran. The Society published two scholarly works—*Kashmir Under the Sultans* by Mohibbul Hasan Khan and *Contribution to Modern Persian Dialectology: The Luri and Dizfuli Dialects* by Dr. J. M. Unvala—during the year; while the printing of Dr. Mafizullah Kabir's *Buwayhids of Baghdad* is well under progress. A learned lecture on the *Razmara Compass Qiblah Numa* was delivered by Brig.-Gen. H. A. Razmara, ex-Chief of the Geographical Department of the Iranian Army. Our Library received as presentation over 300 volumes from different organizations in India and abroad. We are grateful to the Governments of India and Iran for sanctioning the sums of Rs. 1,50,000/- and 10,00,000 *Rials* (about Rs. 62,000/-) respectively towards the proposed *Iran House*. We have received a donation of Rs. 1,000/- from Janab Al-Haj Khalil Adlkhah, one of our Life Members, towards the Building Fund. Under Section 15(B) of the Indian Income-Tax Act, 1922, the donations to the Society have been exempted from the income-tax. The Society has decided to celebrate in 1961 in a befitting manner the 25th Centenary of the *Shahanshahi* in Iran, and for this purpose a separate committee consisting of prominent representatives of cross-section of people will be formed very soon. The Government of Iran awarded Medals and *Sanads* to four prominent members of the Society in recognition of their services for promoting the cause of Indo-Iranian cultural relations. Dr. H. L. Chopra, ex-Assistant Secretary of the Society and one of the Editors of the *Indo-Iranica*, returned to Calcutta after obtaining a Doctorate from the Teheran University.

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The Iran Society pays its humble respect to the sacred memory of the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the occasion of his second death anniversary which fell on the 22nd February, 1960.

To honour its late distinguished and erudite Patron, the Society had an oil-portrait of the late Maulana ceremoniously unveiled by the Hon'ble Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural

Affairs, Government of India, in the main hall of the Society. This portrait will decorate the main hall of the proposed *Iran House*.

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The Iran Society conveys its heartiest congratulations and best wishes to His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the Sháhansháh of Iran, on his marriage to Her Majesty Farah Deba Pahlavi, the Empress of Iran.

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The 16th Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society was held on the 27th February, 1960, with Dr. P. C. Chunder in the Chair. Delivering his Presidential Address before a packed house, Dr. Chunder reviewed the Society's work during the year and wished that the Society " should promote research projects so that young intellectuals might delve deep into the treasures of Indian and Iranian scholarship and either country might benefit from the experience of the other through research publications." The election of the Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1960-61 was unanimous. Messages of good-will from H. E. Miss. Padmaja Naidu, the Governor of West Bengal, the Hon'ble Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, H. E. Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi, Ambassador for Iran in India, and H. E. Mr. A. A. Frouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta, were read on the occasion. Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., spoke briefly and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Dr. H. L. Chopra.

A full report of the Meeting appears elsewhere in this issue.

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We congratulate Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. (Cal.), Attorney-at-Law, Advocate of the Supreme Court of India, on his re-election as the President of the Iran Society for the second term in succession. We also congratulate Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., and Mr. Mohammad Ali Akbar Kashani on their election as Vice-Presidents. Dr. Chunder and Fr. Courtois need no introduction to our readers for their active and potent contributions in nurturing the Society on a stable footing. The name of Mr. M. A. A. Kashani is a welcome inclusion in the Council as a Vice-President. His munificent donation of Rs. 10,000/- last year for the *Iran House* is still fresh in the memory of our readers. Dr. M. Ishaque's election as General Secretary was a foregone conclusion; no one can think of a fully-constituted Council without Dr. Ishaque as General Secretary. In the words of the

President, he "is really one of the pioneers in India in the field of promoting international co-operation through non-official channel." We extend our good-wishes to other Office-bearers and Members of the Council on their election and wish them a prosperous term of office.

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The Iran Society is negotiating to purchase a palatial building situate at 12, Kyd Street, Calcutta, in consideration of a sum of Rs. 3,25,000/- free from all encumbrances. The agreement for sale has already been executed through the best efforts of Messrs. B. M. Basu & Co. our Solicitors. We hope that the generous financial grants of the Governments of India and Iran will enable us to materialise in practice our cherished ambition of having an *Iran House.*

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On the 13th February, 1960, Al-Haj Abul Fazl Haziqi, Cultural Counsellor to the Iranian Embassy in New Delhi, gave an interesting talk on the *Recent Developments in Indo-Iranian Cultural Relations* at the Iran Society. The lecture was presided over by Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Teheran), and was attended among others by H. E. Mr. A. A. Frouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta.

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We are glad to announce that we received Rs. 75,000/-, the amount being the first half of the Ad-hoc grant kindly made by the Government of India, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs towards the purchase of the Society's own building.

We offer our grateful thanks to the Union Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and the Hon'ble Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister in-charge of the said Ministry, for the generous grant.

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On the 21st March, 1960, fell the Persian New Year *Nauruz.* The *Indo-Iranica* wishes its Iranian patrons and members of the Iran Society a happy and prosperous New Year.

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H. E. Mr. A. A. FAROUHANDEH'S SPEECH AT LIONS' CLUB

Speaking at the fortnightly dinner of the Lions' Club at the Great Eastern Hotel on January 19, 1960, His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul General for Iran in Calcutta said:

A few days ago, President Eisenhower, who was acclaimed as an angel of peace, from America which according to a writer is the land of life, enthusiasm and luxury, took the trouble of paying visits to many countries including India and Iran. Today President Voroshilov comes to this country. My submission is that with such like visits for the good of humanity, promotion of peace and the elimination of the sorrows of the world, we could hope for good fortune and prosperity for the world at large.

Iran, my country, as you all know, has a very ancient and powerful history, culture and civilization. The Aryan nation of Iran has never lost sight of the proximity and affection which it cherishes towards the Indian Nation and respectfully acknowledges it. The recent visit of Mr. Nehru, the wise and noble Prime Minister of India, to Iran and the unprecedented welcome accorded to this great man of history by the Iranians is a living and an everlasting evidence of the mutual attachment of the two nations.

Under the able guidance of its Emperor, Iran, with untiring determination, is taking long and rapid strides towards progress which has attracted towards itself the attention of the whole world.

We are moving towards progress in our problems regarding the limitation of land and establishment of factories and dams and in tackling more effectively our oil resources and in increasing our agricultural produce and we hope to succeed in these ventures of ours.

The Iranian Trade Delegation which recently visited this place and enjoyed your hospitality for one week, tried to further strengthen and extend the trade relations between Iran and India.

Next year, Iran will be celebrating two thousand five hundredth anniversary of monarchy in Iran with extraordinary zest, enthusiasm and éclat. This celebration will take place in Persepolis (Takht-e-Jamshid), the seat of the great Iranian monarchs in the past and also in Teheran, Isfahan and Shiraz with great pomp and splendour. The Iranian nation with its usual hospitality, solicits the honoured guests to this function.

This organisation has a brilliant and extensive membership in Iran also under the presidentship of His Excellency Mr. Ala, who is one of the patriots and a senior politician of Iran and at present is the Court Minister.

May this friendship of India and Iran live for ever.

BOOK REVIEWS

R. C. ZAEHNER, *At Sundry Times*, an Essay in the Comparison of Religions, London, Faber and Faber, 1958, pp. 230; 21 s.

R. C. Zaehner, Spalding professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford, is a Christian. He proposes to study the great religions of the world in their relationship to Christianity. Just as an agnostic is very badly equipped for the study of religion, since he has not the experience of religious faith and devotion, so the Christian is handicapped in his approach to the religions of India, because his personal religious experience widely differs from that of the Indian sages. The contrast between the two approaches is baffling: on the one hand, the Old Testament relates the "story of an intensely personal God who reveals himself progressively to one people which He has chosen out of all the nations of the earth". On the other hand, Buddhism and other Indian religions are not concerned with a personal God. They seek no divine design in the flux of history but aim at transcending the phenomenal world of pain and suffering, at "realizing here and now a state of existence in which time and space and causality are obliterated". This contrast pervades the whole field of religious experience and doctrine; it manifests itself in the difference between prophets and sages, between the way of divine grace and the way of enlightenment, between the love of God and the total detachment or stilling of the affections, between the conception of man as a unity of spirit and matter and the conception of man as a spirit in bondage. Thus the question arises: is there any common measure between the prophetical and the mystical types of religious pattern?

The Rig-vedic evolution from 'henotheism' to the enquiry regarding the origin of the universe marks the beginning of Indian philosophy. Although various trends of thought are recognisable in the Upanishads, their main search is for the eternal ground of the universe. In that they are comparable with the Pre-Socratic philosophers. Parallel to them and perhaps older than them, we find the quest of Yoga. Yoga is essentially a practical discipline unconcerned with metaphysical problems, and meant, as a psychological technique, to "uncover the immortality of one's own soul in distinction from both the empirical 'ego' and the objective world". The yogic trance is different from nature mysticism. It is not concerned with nature and the universe but solely with the discovery of a 'self' which, in the words of Jung, "is timeless and existed before any birth".

The central experience of the Upanishads is different. It is akin to nature mysticism in which" the experiencing subject seems to merge into the experienced object, often generalized as the 'All' ". Yet, this kind of pantheism is not the sum-total of the Upanishadic doctrine. There are glimpses of the "Overlord of all things" who is "the honey of all things" which transcends the world, sustains it and indwells it.

At the heart of nature mysticism there is a yearning for something higher than nature and higher than the soul. In the Śvetaśvatara Upanishad, God appears as the Lord, the beginning and end of all things, supremely transcendent and absolutely immanent. Finally in the Bhagavad-gitá, we reach "the summit of the mountain which the authors of the Upanishads had, laboriously and with many a fall, been climbing". God is not a passionless Absolute but the lover

of man's soul. (See Gitá, 18.64-66) He is, at the same time, the Terrible God before whom Arjuna prostrates himself, craving His grace.

Revelation, in the Indian perspective, is latent in man and must become the object of a direct experience. The prophetic religions present revelation as the objective message of a personal God reaching mankind through the instrumentality of the prophets. The prophets of Israel, as well as Zoroaster and Muhammad, are historical characters receiving their mission from God and sent to the people to reveal to them the divine purpose. They speak with authority and their message bears primarily on the concrete condition of human life and the creaturely character of man. The choice is between good and evil and the choice is free. The path of goodness will lead to wholeness and immortality, the path of evil, to lasting torment. It is the whole man, body and soul, who yearns for salvation and it is the whole man, body and soul, who will be saved. Religion is more a matter of faith than of experience and it is faith which must give its true interpretation to experience.

Thus prophecy and mysticism are the two poles between which the great religions of the world are divided. Prof. Zaehner does not believe that the unity of all the great religions is to be found in a kind of metaphysical quintessence consciously or unconsciously present in all the forms of genuine religious quest. He prefers to respect the originality of all great religions and his contention is that the universal religion is that in which prophecy and mysticism are vitally united: "whereas no religion in which revelation in not married to direct experience, can be fully satisfying, so can experience, when divorced from revelation, often lead to absurd and wholly irrational excesses". In his eyes, Christianity fulfils the conditions of the universal religion. The mystical religions are true in so far as they remain faithful to the experience of the tension which divides spirit and matter, time and eternity. "Man is not at one with himself, and the best he can do is to liberate what of him remains immortal from what is subject to death." Judaism, on the other hand, relying on revelation, upheld the fundamental unity of matter and spirit, in spite of the conflict brought about by original sin. In Christ those two currents meet. He comes to restore the harmony shattered by sin, giving thus to the mystical yearning its fulfilment. His incarnation redeems the material world and his resurrection and ascension reconciles time and eternity. While the isolation of the self from all temporal entanglement represents the 'dark night of the senses', a further call solicits the self to renounce its self-sufficiency and to seek, through the 'dark night of the spirit', the restoring grace of the Overlord of spirit and matter.

The intellectual zest and the well-structured thought of Prof. Zaehner make of his book a very stimulating work, even if his conclusions are at variance with the generally accepted views of modern syncretism. Generally accepted views tend to acquire the value of axioms and it is desirable that they be sometimes challenged, were it only to shake a certain intellectual self-complacency which easily degenerates in intellectual laziness.

R. ANTOINE, S.J.

BAHADUR SHAH II AND THE WAR OF 1857 IN DEHLI WITH ITS UNFORGETTABLE SCENES: By Dr. Mahdi Husain, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Litt. (Paris). Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmiri Gate, Delhi-6. Pages: lxxv+451, with numerous illustrations and maps. Price: Rs. 20/-.

Since 1957 much has been written, both in India and abroad, about the First War of Indian Independence of 1857, popularly known as the Sepoy Mutiny

Dr. Mahdi Husain, the learned author of the book under review, presented this valuable piece of work to the intelligentsia after three years of strenuous research and arduous labour at Calcutta, Patna, Rampur and New Delhi.

The book consists of a 77-page Preface, 36-page Introduction, ten chapters and 100 pages of Appendix. Pages 328 to 332 contain a historic proclamation of Shah Nasiruddin Qajar of Iran issued towards the end of 1856 which, according to Kaye, encouraged outbreak of rebellion against the British in the northern frontier of India. Never before had so many and new materials in different languages—English, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, French and Bengali—been marshalled and drawn up so systematically on the subject.

It has been established in the body of the book with the help of numerous appendices that Bahadur Shah II did never betray the cause of the freedom of the country from the British yoke for which he had accepted the leadership of the sepoys. The views that the emperor was opposed to the sepoys and was was pro-British are discussed threadbare with convincing arguments to disprove the same. After going through the book the reader will be convinced that Bahadur Shah was "more sinned against than sinned" as says Shakespears. After four months of storm and stress, he was captured at the Humayun's tomb on September 20, 1857, and after a mock-trial was banished to Rangoon in Burma where he lived and died as a prisoner in 1862 in utter poverty.

Bahadur Shah II is a brave attempt to approach and understand a really noble figure of the Indian history. It is well-documented and supported with a mass of evidence. The author understood great pains for collecting rare documents and manuscripts which are original and utilished here for the first time. Some of the arguments advanced by the learned author in support of his contentions may be open to question but he deserves credit for his remarkable achievement. He has interpreted the War of 1857 in a unique way and his magnificent work is destined to endure. It is a serious piece of work which deserves the attention of Indian and British historians alike.

K. M. YUSUF.

SAFINA-I-HINDI by Bhagwan Das Hindi. Edited by Prof. Shah Md. Ataur Rahman M.A., B.L. Published by the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian, Patna. Royal Octavo. Pp. 4+318, 1958. Price not given.

Safina-i-Hindi is a *Tadkhira* containing biographies of Persian poets who flourished after the accession of Shah Alam down to the time of the compilation of the book (1759 1804). It was written in Persian by one Bhagwan Das who was brought up at Lucknow, was attached to the court of Asifud-Dawla and was himself a poet of considerable merit. The author has taken great pains in collecting materials for the biographical accounts of not less than 335 contemporary poets quite a large number of whom are not very well-known, and as such the book is an important source of our information for the period. Along with the biographical details of these poets the speciments of their poetry have also been supplied in most of the cases.

Bhagwan Das left two *Diwans* of his Persian poems beside other works, but unfortunately the *Safina* alone has come down to us. Its unique Ms. that was copied out in 1220 A.H. from the original, is preserved in the Oriental Library, Bankipore. Prof. Ataur Rahman is to be thanked for editing this valuable Ms.

with Preface, Introduction, footnotes and indexes. We must also thank the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research, Patna for bringing it out. It is, however, unfortunate that the editing work is not quite satisfactory and at least it has not been done on the lines generally followed by orientalists. Obvious mistakes such as:—

ضرف p. 6), اخلاس and زخیم (p. 8), ذخیم (p. 94) and طعریف (p. 154)

have been left in the text as they are, and have been corrected in the footnotes only. Attempts have been made to establish the text in cases of flagrant mistakes, but comparatively more difficult errors have been overlooked. In cases of faulty texts of the verses the editor seems to be satisfied by pointing out that the verse is defective in metre (pp. 223, 253). Even the following verses have not been corrected:

p. 223 ناز پرورد نگاه گـرم خوبا نم نیاز
می تواں کرد حریر شعلـه پیراهن سرا (1)

p. 253 ربود از دست من جادو فن سحر کاری من
دل من طاقت من اختـیار من فـرار من (2)

But I think with a little attention the second line in No. 1 and the first in No. 2 can be read respectively as follow:

می تواں کردن حـریر شعلـه پیراهن مرا
ربود از دست من جادو فن و هم سحر کار من

The Preface in English does not serve any useful purpose and may be dropped in the 2nd edition.

These are some oof the observations which I hope will not be taken amiss The editor has displayed his fine literary taste in improving the defective text in several places, and I am sure that with a little more effort and a little more patience he would have given us a nice edition of the *Safina-i-Hindi*.

MASOOD HASAN

THE CENTRAL INDIAN PAINTING and *THE PAINTING OF THE DECCAN*. (The Faber Gallery of Oriental Art Series). Published by Faber and Faber Ltd., 24, Russel Square, London, W. C. 1. Price: 15 s. each.

The Central Indian Painting is a monograph containing ten beautiful colour plates representing the school of painting in Central India that continued there from the 15th to the 19th century. As this school has so far received only scant attention I hope the connoisseurs of art will be grateful to Messrs Faber and Faber for introducing a hitherto unknown style of Indian painting to them. The editor Mr. W. G. Archer, keeper of the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum has tried in the Introduction to establish in a scholarly way with the help of these miniatures that the Muslim influence can be traced in Indian painting even before the advent of the Mughals, and that the art of Central India was quite different from that of Rajasthan.

The *Painting of the Deccan* is a collection of 10 colour plates in which valuable paintings of the Deccan school have been reproduced with short well-

written notes and with a learned Introduction by Mr. Douglas Barrett the well-known critic of Indian art. These paintings unmistakably reveal that in the 16th and 17th centuries when the Mughal school flourished so brilliantly in the North, there existed quite independently another school of painting in the South about which we know very little. The rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Gollkunda may not be virile people and may lack the warlike qualities of the Mughal princes, but they were certainly great patrons of art and occupied their leisure hours with literary and artistic pursuits.

MASOOD HASAN

THE PHILOSOPHY OF IBN ARABI. By Rom Landau. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1959. Collection "Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West", No. 22. Pages: 126. Price: 13s 6d.

There is in the world of culture a welcome return to the study of Islamic philosophy. The attention of scholars in many lands is once again drawn to the old Muslim scholastics: Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, Al-Ghazali to mention the giants. But there are scores of other Muslim philosophers who played an important role in the development of philosophical thought during the Middle Ages and who deserve to be better known by the students of culture. One of them is certainly the Andalusian Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Ali Muhyi al-Din al-Hatimi, more commonly known as Ibn 'Arabi He was born in Murcia in A.D. 1164 and died in Damascus in 1240. Educated in his home town, then at Seville, he soon came in contact not only with orthodox Islam, but also with Jewish, Greek and Christian thought. A very able philosopher, Ibn Arabi, lacked the clarity of exposition and the penetration of Al-Ghazali or Avicenna; he even sinned grievously against orthodoxy and reason by his monism verging on pantheism.

In the book under review Prof. Rom Landau of the College of the Pacific in San Francisco has tried to present our philosopher and his system of thought to the general reader. As an introduction to the study of a difficult mind Landau's survey will be welcome and perhaps helpful; but his study of Ibn Arabi is confined to the first 66 pages of the book and is rather sketchy. The Writer was manifestly more at home when journeying through picturesque Morocco, than when searching his way through the labyrinthal system of Muhyi ul-Din. There are, indeed, statements rather unexpected under the pen of a Philosopher. It is truculent oratory to proclaim about Ibn Arabi's monism: "A splendid system of non-dualism rises before us, and innumerable questions that other Western system leave only partially explained receive answers equally satisfying from a philosophical and a religious point of view" (p. 24). For sure monism and its corollary pantheism create more problems than it solves!

From page 67 to the end of the book the Author has gathered extracts from R. A. Nicholson's translations of Ibn Arabi's famous works: ***Fusus al-Hikam*** and *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq*.

English approaches to Ibn Arabi are few. Inspite, therefore, of its shortcomings Landau's Introduction to the Philosopher of Murcia will be found useful by the reader unfamiliar with French.

FR. V. COURTOIS, S.J.

PRESENCE DU BOUDDHISME. Special issue of '*France-Asie*' by Rene de Berval, Saigon, 1959. Pages: 844 with numerous Plates and Maps. Size: 16×23½ cms. Price: $ 500 (Viet-Nam).

France-Asie is the leading French monthly of Asia and an intellectual bridge between the East and the West. The review is very ably managed and edited by dynamic Mr. Rene de Berval from 93 rue Nguyen-van-Thinh, Saigon. In the wake of Buddha Jayanti and as a homage to the memory of the Buddha *France-Asie* has published a special number on the main religion of former *Indo-China*. The number was conceived on a grand scale by Mr. de Berval. In order to do some justice to the theme chosen, "The Presence of Buddhism in the World" the Editor combined together several issues of his magazine, namely, the Nos. 153 to 157 stretching from the month of February to June 1959. The result is a very substantial and imposing study on Buddhism in the form of a symposium to which the best Buddhologists of Europe and Asia have contributed learned papers

The work is prefaced by Mr. Jean Filliozat and introduced to the reader by Prof. Paul Mus, Giuseppe Tucci and Rene de Berval. There follow numerous papers grouped under descriptive headings: the Buddha, his Message, various Aspects of the Religion he founded, its diffusion through Asia, its Contribution to thought, culture, medicine, the Controversies it gave rise to, the Prospects with regard to the future of Buddhism, etc. An important section of the book are translations from the Pali of texts on Buddhism. The last section deals with the present situation of Buddhism in the Western and the Eastern world. A fairly detailed Glossary and a Bibliography bring this important work to a close.

The authority of the contributors and the variety of the papers make of symposium a comprehensive "summa" of Buddhism. This mighty book will certainly be welcome everywhere, but there should be a special place for it in the libraries of India where of late so much interest was evinced in the religion of the Buddha. India, the birth-place of Buddhism, evidently owes much to the teaching and the practices of that great religion. It is certainly very significant, as Sri Devapriya Valisinha writes in his essay, that when the Government of India looked for a suitable emblem for the national flag, it chose the Dharmacakra or Wheel of Law of Sarnath

Among the leading scholars who helped making *France-Asie's* special volume a success, we like to mention, besides those whose names were referred to above, Dr Nalinaksha Dutt Dr. Walpola Rahula, André Bareau, Paul Levy, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who became a Buddhist with many other low-caste people on Buddha-Jayanti, Solange Bernard,-Thierry, Etienne Lamotte, Prince Sisowath Monireth, and Phouvong Phimmasone

FR. V. COURTOIS, S.J.

TURKISH ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN SELJUK AND OTTOMAN TIMES 1071-1923. By Behcet Unsal. London: Alec Tiranti, 1959. Pages: 118 with 130 Illustrations. Size: 16×18½ cms. Price: 30s.

This concise monograph is No. 33 in the fine collection published by Tiranti under the heading "Chapters in Art Series". The period studied is very extensive: it covers the Seljuk and the Ottoman times over a span of nine centuries. A sense of permanence and strength seem to be the characteristic note of Turkish architecture. Elegance is not absent: many slender minarets soar with real beauty above surrounding buildings, but the latter are usually of the massive, heavy type.

B. Unsal's book is meant to be practical; it gives a very complete conspectus of the development of architecture during the last nine centuries. After studying the conditions which have affected the building sense in Turkey, he

analyses the character and form adopted for various types of buildings: mosques, medreses, mausolea, caravanserais, markets, palaces and houses, water installations like baths and fountains, bridges. The last chapters deal with the various materials used in the construction of public and private edifices, the aesthetic considerations which inspired the architects. In conclusion the Author draws some comparison between the Persian, the Arab and the Turkish art; he insists on the originality of Turkish art. Syrian and Byzantine influences are undeniable —no advanced art has not been without undergoing some sort of foreign influence—but even when influenced, the Author holds that Turkish art kept its own personality characterized by simplicity of concepton, moderation in ornament, harmonious proportions and a sense of stability.

In appendix have been added a list of famous Turkish architects, a short bibliography and a very useful glossary. The set of plates reproduced are certainly very beautiful and well illustrate the periods studied.

FR. V. COURTOIS, S.J.



فهرست محمولات چای هند بایران و بنادر عربی خلیج فارس از اول اپریل ۱۹۵۹ء تا حال تحریر

	صندوق		رطل
(۱) از کلکته			
(الف) ایرانیها بمقصد ایران بار کرده اند	۲۵۳۹۰	=	۱۸۱۹۰۹۰
(ب) هندیها " "	۴۸۶۵۲	=	۳۷۲۰۳۹۱
(ج) ایرانیها ببنادر عربی خلیج فارس	۵۶	=	۲۲۴۵
(د) هندیها " "	۱۰۶۷۳۷	=	۴۳۶۷۵۲۱
(۲) از بمبئی			
(ه) ایرانیها بایران حمل نموده اند	۷۶۲	=	۷۵۶۲۰
(و) هندیها " "	۴۱۵۸۶	=	۱۸۹۸۷۴۰
(ز) " ببنادر عربی خلیج فارس	۱۱۵۴۶۲	=	۴۵۴۱۹۵۴

ایرانیها ببنادر عربی خلیج فارس از بمبئی چیزی نفرستاده اند

درین‌جا بی‌مناسبت نیست اشاره نمایم ایرانیها نسبت باستان بنگال دلبستگی ویژه داشته اند - در کتاب اسرار التوحید نام پدر ابو سعید عارف معروف قرن دهم میلادی بابو ابو الخیر قید شده - این کلمه ''بابو'' منحصر بنگال است در هیچ استان دیگر هند استعمال نمیشود معلوم مینماید ابوالخیر در دورهٔ حکومت سلسلهٔ پال بنگال آمده در مراجعت بخراسان این عنوان ''بابو'' را با خود سوغات برده است -

جلال الدین تبریزی که در بنگال بجلال شاه مشهور است و در زمان ملک فخر الدین میزیسته ۱۳۴۶ میلادی فوت نموده - کتابخانهٔ مهمی فراهم ساخته که شاید قسمتی ازان را بتوان امروز در کتابخانه انجمن آسیائی بنگال یافت -

ابن بطوطه متوفی ۱۳۷۸ میلادی در سفر نامهٔ خود نوشته وقتی از جزایر مالدیو ببنگال رسیده ایرانیها را در انجا ملاقات نموده جملاتی فارسی از آنها شنیده که عینا در تحفة النظار مذکور داشته است -

حافظ شیرین سخن متوفی ۱۳۸۹ میلادی میفرماید :-

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسی که ببنگاله میرود

این چند نمونه که عرض شد نشان میدهد روابط ایرانیها با این سر زمین تازگی نداشته از قرون سابقه بهم پیوسته بوده اند -

بیش ازین وقت آقایان را نگرفته آرزومندم این مسافرت شما مقرون بخوشی و سعادت در تشیید روابط بازرگانی دو کشور مؤثر و نتیجه بخش بوده - فایز بمراد و کامران باشید -

بهر منزل که رو آری خدایت نگهدارد بحفظ لایزالی

رئیس هیئت از بیانات آقای نمازی بسی قدر دانی نمود معزی الیه راجع بوضع بازرگانی فیمابین دو کشور ویژه درباره مقادیر چای هند که بایران و بنادر عربی خلیج حمل میشود اطلاعات کافیه بهیئت داده و فهرست زیر را بنظر ایشان رسانید که ما از نقطه نظر مهم بودن موضوع بدرج ان مبادرت مینمائیم -

آمار جالب توجه

در بخش انگلیسی شماره دسامبر ۱۹۵۹ ضمن خبر ورود هیئت بازرگانی از ایران اشاره نمودیم که اطاق بازرگانی خاوری روز ۲۵ دسامبر ۵۹ ناهاری بافتخار هیئت در باشگاه کلکته داد بعد از تبادل تحیات و اظهار احساسات رئیس اطاق بازرگانی از جناب آقای پرفسور میرزا محسن نمازی استاد دانشگاه کلکته که حضور داشتند خواهش نمود چند کلمه مبنی بر سپاسگذاری از هیئت اظهار نمایند ایشان هم بیانات ذیل را بالبدیهه ایراد نمودند مورد توجه حضار واقع گردید :-

آقایان محترم!

از عنایت و لطف شما که بقبول این دعوت مارا رهین امتنان فرموده‌اید بسی سپاسگذار بوده تشکرات فائقه اظهار میدارم -

در ازمنه قدیمه شهریاران ایران مقام بازرگانان را ارجمند شناخته و برای آنان امتیازاتی قائل بوده اند -

بازرگانان در جامعه مانند خون در بدن هستند - ملتی که بازرگانان خوب نداشته باشد مانند بدنی است که خون ندارد -

بانی اسلام حضرت محمد صلعم هم پیش از بعثت بتجارت پرداخته و دین اسلام باجملهٔ الکاسب حبیب الله' پیشهٔ بازرگانی را بسی ستوده است -

اگر طبقاتی را در جامعه ببینید که مانند واردات تجملی سر بار ملت باشند طبقهٔ بازرگانان حکم صادراتی را دارند که بنیهٔ مالی ملت را نیرو بخشیده بر ثروت ملی میافزاید و ملت را از ورشکستگی نجات میدهد - سعدی که یکی از بزرگترین علمای اقتصاد است میفرماید "اگر باران بکوهستان نبارد دجله در عرض یکسال بخشک رودی مبدل میشود - کسیکه دخلش نوزده و خرج بیست باشد کارش بتباهی میکشد - ابلهی که روز روشن شمع کافوری بیفروزد بزودی چراغش در شب بی روغن میماند -"

وظیفه‌ای که بعهدهٔ شما گذاشته اند خیلی سنگین است اگر در مذاکرات با زمامداران هند موفق شوید کاری کنید که در پیکر معاملات ایران باهند تعادلی ایجاد شود خدمت بزرگی انجام داده‌اید -

و جهل بر آنها نیز مضر نیست در مقابل شرعیات از قبیل فقه و اصول و حدیث که در نظر فقیه مقصود بالاصاله است»[۱]. قاضی حمیدالدین باتفاق تذکره نویسان و مورخین خاوری و خاور شناسانیکه درین رشته تتبع دارند از ائمه و قضاة و صاحب مسند در بلخ بوده[۲].

عهد دار شدن مسند قضاوة بدون استادی در فقه کاریست مشکل بنابر آن احاطه بشرعیات از قبیل فقه و اصول و حدیث واجب و از لوازم وظیفه اوست.

این نظر وضع فرهنگی کشور در آن عهد نیز تائید میکند. ما در بحث وضع علمی و اجتماعی کشور دیدم که علم در دورهٔ سلجوقی برای دین و تابع آن بوده حتی استاد بدیع الزمان فروزانفر تصریح میکند که مدارس نظامیه آن وقت برای این منظور بنا شده‌بود و برنامهٔ آن عبارت میبود از تفسیر علم کلام، ادبیات عرب و فقه[۳].

چیز دیگری که نماینده معلومات و احاطه قاضی حمیدالدین است بعلوم شرعی و دانستن قرآن و حدیث و آوردن استشهادهای اوست از قرآن و حدیث در مقامات و داستان‌هایش آورده که یکی از آنها را بطور نمونه ذیلاً ذکر میکنم:

«هر که را سیر همه جهان در کنار باید پای او در دهان مار شاید با چندین رفق و مدارا و حلم و مواسات آن سرور میفرمود لوکنت متخذاً خلیلاً لاتخذت ابا بکر خلیلا[۴]» و آیهٔ را در نثر خویش چنین تضمین نماید: «و چون هیچ صدیق در این مضیق باز نکشد در هر سفری که گام اول او من المسجد الحرام الی المسجد الاقصی بود کسی را با وی روی مرافقت و موافقت کجا بود».

استادی و مهارت قاضی حمیدالدین در فقه از آن مقامهٔ که مخصوص این

(باقی دارد)

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۱ لباب الالباب چاپ لیدن ص ۳۳۴.

۲ رجوع شود به لباب الالباب ص ۱۹۹ تذکرهٔ دولت شاه ضمن شرح حال انوری و دیگر تواریخ ادب و تذکره‌ها.

۳ سال دوم نشریه دانشکده معقول و منقول ص ۱۴۲.

۴ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۶۹-۷۰.

ترکان غز شکست خورد امرا و بزرگان سپاه اورا قاضی ببدی یاد کرد که آن اشعار را مجمع الفصحا چنین ضبط نموده :

حکیم کوشککی را بخواب دیدم دوش
زبان کشاده بمدح مبارزان سپاه

ز راه طعنه و طنز و بمسخره میگفت
زهی گذارده هر یک حقوق نعمت شاه

فسوس زیر رکاب شما کمیت و سمند
دریغ بر بر و فرق شما قبا و کلاه

ز پیش کافر کفران نعمت آورده
گریختید چو از پیش توبه خیل گناه

ندیده گرد سپاه سیاه پوش هنوز
که گشت صبح سفید شما چو شام سیاه

ز بس تعجب کفار جمله میگفتند
زهی جماعت غز لا الـه الا الله[۱]

مقام علمی قاضی حمیدالدین

فهمیدن پایه علمی و اندازه فهم دانشمندی و ایضاح آن کاریست مشکل خاصه آنکه آن بزرگ مرد قرن‌ها پیش از ما درگذشته باشد. بنابر آن نمی‌توانیم ما قاضی را با آنهمه دانش و معلومات فرهنگی و دینی او معرفی کنیم برای اینکه ندانیم قاضی چه اندازه میدانست باید بدانستنی‌های آنروز معلومات کافی داشته باشیم کد آن کار فعلاً از عهده و دسترس ما بیرون است ولی آنچه میدانیم میگوئیم تا مخالف بآن ضرب المثل عربی نشده باشیم : "ما لایدرک کله لا یترک کله" آنچه را که تمام آن درک نشود تمام آن ترک نشود.

مرحوم استاد قزوینی می‌گوید : "فضیلیات چنانکه از مورد استعمال آن معلوم میشود بمعنی علوم ادبیه است که اطلاع بر آنها برای فقیه موجب فضل است

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۱ مجمع الفصحا جلد اول صفحه ۱۹۸ .

بعلم و فضیلت یا اخلاق و پاک نفسی نباشد، مقام بزرگ اجتماعی را اشغال کند یا نزد امیر و وزیر و شاهی معزز شود .

بیاد داریم که امیر معزی فرزند امیرالشعراء برهانی شاعر دربار سنجر و پدرش ملکشاه با آنهمه سوابق پدرش بدربار آن شاه بزرگ و وصیت او دربارهٔ فرزند نتوانست بزودی و بآسانی بدربار راه یابد تا آنکه چنانکه نظامی عروضی نویسنده چهار مقاله حکایت می‌کند پس از آنکه شاه هلال بدید معزی رباعی ساخت و مقرب شد و آن رباعی اینست :

ای ماه چو ابروان یاری گوئی　　　یا نی چو کمان شهریاری گوئی
نعلی زده از زر عیاری گوئی　　　در گوش سپهر گوشواری گوئی[۱]

باید بخاطر داشته باشیم که این تقرب هم بلا واسطه نبوده بلکه بوسیله یکی از درباریان که در بحث معاصرین ضمن شرح حال معزی خواهیم‌دید اجرا شده .

جائی که کار با معزی این گونه باشد هرگاه خانوادهٔ قاضی اهمیت اجتماعی نمیداشت روز او به کجا می‌کشید ؟

بنابر آنچه ذکر شد میتوایم خانوادهٔ قاضی را از خانواده‌های محتشم و معزز بلخ و معروف بفضل و کمال پنداریم .

قاضی و رسمیات

قاضی حمیدالدین شاعر دبیر یا وزیر درباری نبوده بلی شغل قضاوة او مسئله‌ای غیر قابل تردید است ولی طوریکه سابقاً ذکر کردیم مسئله قضاوة آنروزها کاملاً جنبه رسمی نداشته .

قاضی حمیدالدین علاوه‌بر آنکه از امراء ملاحی نمیکند از زبان حکیم کوشککی هجو گوئی معاصر خویش امرای سنجری را هجو مینماید مخصوصاً وقتی که سنجر از

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۱ چهارمقاله چاپ برلین ص ۴۸ .

همه دلها محط رحل مکائد روز افزون" قاضی حمیدالدین اضطراب و اندوه روز افزون خویش را چنین وصف می کند: "از نقاش قریحت جز صورت فضیحت پدید نبود و قفل بستهٔ خاطر را جز خاموشی کلید نه". گفتیم قاضی حمیدالدین از این وضع بدی ناخوش بود و آرزوی انقضای آن بسر میبرد میگوید: "اگر وقتی غرمای حوادث بسوی مسامحت و مصالحت باز آیند و دست خصومت از آستین و دامن قبا و پیراهن بدارند آنکه بر سر این افسانهٔ ناخوش و الفاظ مشوش بازگردیم و آهن زنگار خورده را نرم کنیم و برنج سرد شده را گرم"(۱).

قاضی حمیدالدین با این وضع و حال وظیفه خویش را فراموش نکرده اتفاق میخواست و میگفت:

یکرشته شویم مجتمع چون مویت گر کار بنیکوی کشد چون رویت

خانوادهٔ قاضی

این قسمت از شرح حال قاضی حمیدالدین باز بی‌اشکال نیست چه بنابر عللی که در بحث روزهای کودکی و جوانی او قبلا ذکر کردیم تذکره نویسان و مورخین ما در اینجا خاموشند. نمی‌توانیم بگوئیم که قاضی حمیدالدین وزیر زاده یا شاهزاده بوده و اینهم خیلی دور است فرض کنیم از خانوادهٔ گمنامی‌بوده.

انوری چنانکه بعداً خواهیم‌دید، وقتی ببلخ آمد با همین مرد آشنا شد و همو بود که باعث نجات انوری از دست شورشیان بلخ گردید. البته وقتی شاعری وارد شهری میشود نمی‌تواند با مردی که از خانوادهٔ گمنامی باشد و سابقه علمی یا شهرت اجتماعی نداشته باشد آشنا شود. دلایل واضح راجع بسابقه آشنائی انوری با قاضی حمیدالدین پیش از سفر بلخ در دست نیست.

یک چیز دیگر که می‌تواند این نظر را تائید کند اینست که آنروزها مشکل بود مردی که سابقه علمی یا شهرت اجتماعی نداشته باشد، اعنی از خانواده مشهور

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۱ مقامات حمید ص ۲۳۷ چاپ تهران.

مقامه بیست و چهارم از مقامات حمیدی مخصوص اسامی خلفا است که در آن باین ترتیب از آخرین خلیفه عباسی نام برده :

و مستنجد حرا لکریم ختامه   امام الانام الیوم اظهر مفتخر[۱]

و بفارسی گوید :

وز بعد او رسید بمستنجد آن سریر
و امروز هست عالم ازو پر جمال و فر[۲]

مستنجد بالله خلیفه عباسی از ۵۵۵ - ۵۶۶[۳] خلافت داشت. پس تاریخ اختتام مقامات حمیدی از سال ۵۵۵ ببعد می‌افتد که همان سالهای آخر عمر قاضی باشد.

بنابر آن تالیف مقامات از ۵۵۱ تا پایان عمر قاضی را بخود صرف کرده.

مطلبی که باقی می‌ماند اینست که اینروزها قاضی لابد مشغول مطالعه و بررسی برای ترتیب و تالیف آثار خود نیز بوده این موضوع را خود در مقدمه مقامات ایضاح میکند : "جمل نفس را در بی مرادی دمی باب می‌رسید و در مطالعه کتب روزی بشب می‌کشید..." درین که قاضی اینوقت پیر و سالخورده بوده نمی‌توانیم مردد باشیم، خود گوید : "در چنین فصلی و وقتی (البته سال تالیف مقامات) این اتفاق افتاد که آئینه طبع بیکار از تطاول روزگار زنگار داشت و چرخ منقلب و دهر متغلب سر جنگ و پیکار[۴]".

قاضی حمیدالدین در روزهای آخر زندگیش بنابر پریشانی اوضاع و احوال که زاده اوضاع سیاسی و کشمکشهای سلطان سنجر با ترکان غز روز خوشی نداشت برای اثبات این مطلب قسمتی از خاتمة الکتاب مقامات را درج میکنیم : "اکنون همه نسیمها سموم گشت و همه شهدها سموم همه سینه‌های خلق خانهٔ شدائد گوناگون و

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۳۳۰ .   ۲ مقامات ص ۳۳۴ .
۳ حواشی شمیم همدانی برمقامات ص ۳۳۴ .
۴ مقامات حمیدی ص ۵ چاپ تهران .

تجارب حاصل کرد با یکجهان معلومات بزادگاه یا شهری که در آن نشو و نما یافته باز گشت. معلوم نیست قاضی حمیدالدین مخصوصاً در آنوقت بچه شغلی مشغول بوده ولی بگمان غالب و تصریح انوری در قصاید مدحیه اش قاضی ما در اینوقت عهده دار دادگستری شهر بلخ بوده و بر مسند قاضی القضاة می نشسته :

مسند قاضی القضاة شرق و غرب آراسته
آنکه هست از مسندش عباسیان را برتری
گو حمیدالدین اگر خواهی که وقتی در دو لفظ
مطلقا هر چه حمیدست از صفاتش بشمری

باید ملتفت بود که کار قضا در آنروزها اگرچه کاملاً رسمی و شعبه از ادارات دولتی نبوده لکن از دولت هم نمی‌توانیم بکلی جدا بدانیم و آنرا وظیفه شخصی تصور کنیم بنابر آن میتوان کار قضای آنروزها را عهدهٔ تابع دولت ولی نسبتاً آزاد و غیر مقید دانست.

قسمت عمدهٔ تألیفات و آثار قاضی حمیدالدین که مقامات حمیدی بی شبه از جاوید ترین شاهکار میباشد در همین زمان نگاشته شده.

قاضی حمیدالدین بنگارش مقامات در جمادی الآخر (برج جدی) سال ۵۵۱ آغاز کرد و خود گوید: "تهیج و تموج این بحر زاخر در اواخر جمادی الآخرهٔ سنه احدی و خمسین و خمسمایه بوقتی که جرم آفتاب روز افرون از چرم بزغالهٔ گردون می‌تافت..."(۱). و بروایت استاد برون آنرا در همان سال بپایان رسانید. استاد برون را دو اشتباه در اینجا رخ داده یکی در تاریخ آغاز مقامات جائی که گوید: "ترکیب مقامات حمیدی بتابستان سال ۱۱۵۶ میلادی بعمل آمد"(۲) و دیگری در سال اختتام آن. مطابق بنص خود مقامات، حمیدی زمستان ۵۵۱ آغاز شده چنانچه در فوق ذکر شد. راجع بسال اختتام آن دیگران اشتباه نموده‌اند(۳). سال پایان یافتن مقامات باین دلیل بعد از ۵۵۱ می‌آید.

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۵. ۲ تاریخ ادبیات برون جلددوم ص ۷۴۷.
۳ رجوع شود بسبک شناسی ملک الشعرای بهار ص ۳۳۲.

حضور قاضی حمیدالدین را در مجامع علمی در قسمت دیگری از مقامات نیز میتوانیم دریابیم میگوید : "و هر کجا که مر آن طایفه را اجتماعی بود و بفواید علمی استماع من از حاضران آن مجلس بودم ..."

نشست و برخاست قاضی با علما و حضور او در مجامع علمی دشوار و بعید نمی نماید چه میدانیم آنروزها کتاب داشتن و کتاب نگاشتن کار آسانی نبوده و بنابر آن نمیتوانستند تنها از راه مطالعه چیز فهم شونه تا آنکه از استادان نشنوند و در مجالس حضور نیابند، یکی از مطالبی که می‌بایست در زندگی قاضی حمیدالدین ذکر شود همانا سفرهای دور و دراز اوست ببلاد کشور و شهرهای عرب گفتیم مقامات حمیدی، بنابر نص صریح خود مقامات(۱) عبارت از داستانها، دیدنی‌ها و سرگذشتهای خود قاضی حمیدالدین است و بنا بر روایات مقامات قاضی ما در جوانی بزیارت حج مشرف شده و از راه عراق باز گشته شهرهای خراسان و اکثر بلاد ایران را دیده و در قندهار، هرات و بست مسافرت نموده . قاضی بماوراءالنهر نیز رفته و از شهر زیبای سمرقند دیدار کرده و در وصف آن مقامه‌ای ساخته . از راه قندهار بکشمیر سفر کرده و در وصف آن شهر گفته : "چون خبایای آن سواد و خفایای آن بلاد بدیدم و در مراتع او بچریدم و زلال مشارع او بچشیدم در تعجب ترتیب و تفکر ترکیب آن بسط و قبض و طول و عرض بماندم و آیهٔ قدرت در خلقت ملکوت السموات والارض بخواندم"(۲) .

از آنجائیکه آخرین روزهای قاضی حمیدالدین اعنی روزگار پیری و پختگی او در بلخ گذشه که متون تواریخ و قصاید مدحیه انوری برآن گواه است اکثر این سفرهای قاضی در سالهای جوانی او بوده .

از جوانی تا پایان عمر

قاضی حمیدالدین پس از آنکه رنج سفر بر خود هموار کرد و از هر دهن سخنی و از هر جماعت صناعتی آموخت از مجمع علما آموختنی‌ها اندوخت و از دیدار بلاد

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۱ رجوع شود به مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۲۳۶، ۲۳۸ .

۲ مقامات حمیدی ٥ چاپ تهران صفحه ۳۹ .

چون قاضی خویش را در کودکی بتفرج‌گاه دیدیم اکنون بفکر دیگری می‌افتیم که بنابر آنکه دانشمند زاده و اهل علم بوده دور نیست که در همان آوان بمجامع مشاهیر و دانشمندان حضور یابد و از آمیزش بآنها طرفی بر بندد؛ از محتویات مقامات می‌توانیم این گفته خویش را بجائی برسانیم: "تا روزی یکی از مشاهیر شهر و جماهیر دهر که در فتوت نامی داشت و در مروت کامی خواست که اخوان صفا را بر گوشهٔ خوان صفا جمع کند و ابکار افکار هر یک را باز جوید و بخور و بخارهریک را ببوید و کنه حال هریک را بداند و درج هنر هریک را بخواند." می‌بینم که درین مجامع قاضی ما مردی از مشاهیر شهر از افکار مجمع جویا می‌شده و در حوز ذوق ایشان غذای روحی و جسمی تهیه می‌دیده.

روزهای جوانی

روزهای جوانی قاضی حمیدالدین نیز چون روزهای کودکی او نمیتواند از متون کتب و تذکره‌ها بدست آید ولی آنچه را میتوانیم حدس بزنیم اینست که قاضی حمیدالدین در جوانی نیز شوری در سر و سوزی در دل داشته چنانچه در هفتمین مقامه‌اش در وقتی گفتنی‌های لاطی و زانی را شرح و ایضاح میکند میگوید: "چون در اول و آخر این مجادله تامل کردم و بدان معقولات و منقولات توسل جستم دست در هر دو ملت زدم و توکل کردم"(۱).

گفتیم که قاضی حمیدالدین در کودکی بمجالس و انجمن‌ها راه داشته این غریره وقتی قاضی ما بسن رشد رسید در او بیشتر گردید و بمجالس علمی و نزد بزرگان راه رفت و آمد زیادتر باز کرد گهی از دوستان می‌آموخته و زمانی بایشان افاضه می‌کرده این مطلب را در پنجمین مقامه از مقامات او واضح کند جائی که گوید: "و از چمن روزگار گل انبار چیده و در حله‌های عرب دقایق فصاحت آموخته و در کله‌های عجم آتش ملاحت افروخته..." تا آنکه گوید: "بوسایط این مخایل و وسایل این حبائل بهرجائی از سرمایهٔ خود توانگری می‌نمودم و از مایهٔ خود پیمانه می‌پیمودم..."

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۶۴.

گشت و مشک شباب بکافور شیب محجوب شد و موی قیری ببیاض پیری معیوب گشت، شب جوانی را صبح پیری بدمید و لشکر زنگی از سپاه رومی برمید[۱]" .

روزهای کودکی

مشکل است بتوانیم معلومات واضح در اطراف زندگی روزهای کودکی قاضی حمیدالدین بدست آریم زیرا این روش شرح حال نگاری که تازه معمول شده در سالیان پیش بین نویسندگان ما مروج نبوده و اتفاقاً خود نویسندگان ما نیز علاقه بنگاشتن شرح حال و گذارش روزهای جوانی یا طفلی خویش نداشتند . ولی طوری که از وضع زندگی آن وقت کشور برمی‌آید شاید قاضی ما آنروزها مشغول آموختن مبادی علوم و قرأت کلام‌الله مجید بوده باشد . مبادی علوم را آنروزها اعیان زادگان اکثراً در منزل شخصی خویش می‌آموختند . ممکن بود این آموزش زیر نظر پدر یا معلم شخصی اجرا شود بنابر آن حدس میزنیم که قاضی آنروزها در منزل شخصی خود مشغول بخواندن مبادی علوم و قرآن زیر نظر پدر یا معلم شخصی یا هردو بوده .

ازین که بگذریم بمطلب دیگری میرسیم که قاضی شاید آنروزها وقتی‌هم بخوش مشربی میپرداخته و با دوستان و نزدیکان خویش بتفریح و روز گذرانی مشغول بوده. این نظر را دو چیز تائید میکند : یکی آنکه انسان طبعاً در کودکی بتفرج و خوش گذرانی میل دارد خاصه آنکه وقتیکه وضع زندگی کودک خوب باشد و اندوهی بخاطرش راه نیافته باشد، دیگر آنکه خودش در قسمتی از مقامات خویش که بیشک داستانی از سرگذشت اوست گوید : "من درغلوای این غرور و در خیلای این سرور با زمره‌ای از ظریفان و فرقه‌ای از حریفان چون باد صبا از صف بصف و چون بادهٔ مصفی از کف بکف میگشتم و بساط نشاط را بقدم انبساط می‌نوشتم با دوستان در بوستان از سر طیش و عیش می گشتم . . ." تا آنکه گوید :

گه بر بساط عشرت دامن کشیدمی   گاهی ز دست خوبان باده چشیدمی[۲]

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۴۹ مقامه ۶ .

۲ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران صفحه ۱۹۵ .

قاضی حمیدالدین مقامات خویش را بسال ۱۱۵٦ مطابق ۵۵۱ آغاز نموده و یکسال بعد از آن سلطان سنجر سلجوقی درگذشته[۱]. بتصریح شمیم همدانی در تعلیقات او بر مقامات قاضی حمیدالدین همعهد سلطان سنجر بوده بنابر آن سال ولادت قاضی از اواخر نیمه دوم قرن پنجم هجری نمی‌تواند جلوتر رود و باحتمال قوی بین سالهای ۴۸۰-۴۹۰ بوده.

این مطلب را گفته های زیر نیز تائید میکند: منظور از دوست یک پوست قاضی حمیدالدین که پهلوان مقامات اوست در غالب مقامات خودش میباشد[۲] که مشاهدات یا جعلیات خود را بدوست موهوم نسبت داده و مقامه بیست و چارم آخرین مقامه اوست که برشته تحریر در آورده. "چون این مقامهٔ بیست و چهارم تحریر افتاد وقت حال را از نسق اول تغییر افتاد ..." تا آنکه گوید: "اگر وقتی غرمای حوادث بسوی مصالحت و مسامحت باز آیند و دست خصومت از آستین و دامن قبا و پیراهن بدارند آنگه بسر این افسانهٔ ناخوش و الفاظ مشوش باز گردیم[۳]". درین هنگام قاضی حمیدالدین به فحوی: "حکایت کرد مرا دوستی که مودت او صفائی داشت و ثباتی و محبت او وفائی و حیاتی که وقتی از اوقات که ریحان جوانی در لباس شباب و رعونت بود و سپاه برنائی را مدد و معونت، طلیعهٔ جوانی هنوز از لشکر پیری اثری ندیده بود و جاسوس صغر از ناموس کبر خبری نیاورده‌بود ..." "در چنین وقتی دل را بسفر نشاطی و تن را بحرکت انبساطی[۴] ...". گوئی که قاضی از روزهای جوانی خویش یاد می‌کند گو انکه قاضی مطابق گفته اش: "طلیعه جوانی هنوز..." سال دیده بوده.

در مقامه ششم نیز قاضی ما از جوانی خود یاد و پیری‌اش را می‌رساند: "حکایت کرد مرا دوستی که دل بمحبت او نیازی داشت و جان بصحبت او اهتزازی که وقتی از اوقات که ایام صبی چون نسیم صبا بر من بگذشت و روز و شب فرش عیش و طرب درنوشت ارغوان عارض زریری شد و بزم خانهٔ جوانی بجلگه پیری بدل

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۱ مقامات حمیدی ص ۲۳۹.
۲ ایضاً ص ۲۴۲.
۳ ایضاً ص ۲۳٦.
۴ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۲۲۱ مقامه ۲۴.

مولد و مسکن

در جای تولد قاضی حمیدالدین اختلاف است، بعضی بلخ و بعضی ولوالج[۱] گفته‌اند. ولوالج دهکده‌ایست که بگفته بعضی باستاق امروزه تطبیق میشود. نویسندهٔ مجهول حدود العالم گوید: "ولوالج شهریست پایتخت ترکستان دارای آبهای جاری و باشندگان خوش مشرب"[۲]. مایورسکی خاور شناس روسی گوید: "ولوالج از دیر باز باین طرف با قندز امروزه تطبیق شده که بین دریای دوشی (سرخاب) که از جنوب می‌آید و دریای تالقان که از شمال شرق جریان می‌یابد واقع شده"[۳]. ولوالج را جای دیگر مایورسکی با قندز تطبیق نموده گوید: "ولوالج متعلق است بقندز که نقطه تقاطع رود خانه تالقان و رود دوشی واقع است".

بیرونی گوید: "ولوالج پایتخت تخارستان است که در روزهای قدیم هیالتیش‌ها در آنجا فرمان روائی داشتند".

قاضی بپندار اکثر تذکره نویسان و مورخین ادب در بلخ بود و باش داشته و قسمت بزرگی از زندگیش را در آنجا گذرانده. از قصیده‌ای که انوری شاعر دربار سنجر که از دوستان اوست و ما در بحث‌های بعد ازو صحبت میکنیم در اعتذار از هجو بلخ سروده برمی‌آید که قاضی حمیدالدین در بلخ بسر می‌برده. تا اینوقت دلائلی در دست نیست که خبر تولد اورا از ولوالج رد کند. ولی بنا برین که اکثر تذکره نویسان و مورخین ادب اورا بلخی خوانده‌اند و از احترام و سابقهٔ که در شهر بلخ داشته و انوری را هنگام شورش مردم نجات داده قطع داریم که قاضی از ساکنین بلخ بوده و جز قسمتی از زندگیش که در سفرها و گردش‌های او گذشته باقی همه در بلخ بوده.

تاریخ تولد

مشکل است روز و ماه و سال ولادت قاضی حمیدالدین را معین کرد ولی میتوانیم بشرح زیر تخمین کنیم:

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۱ تذکرة الشعرای دولت شاه سمرقندی. ۲ حدود العالم یا حواشی مایورسکی ص ۱۰۹.
۳ حدود العالم یا حواشی مایورسکی ص ۲۰۹.

احوال قاضی حمیدالدین بلخی

نام و نشان

بقلم فاضل محترم آقای میرحسین شاه، دانشکدهٔ ادبیات، کابل

نامش عمر، لقبش حمیدالدین، کنیه‌اش ابی بکر بوده[1]. پدرش محمود نام داشته، محمودی که در برخی از تذکره‌ها با نام او ذکر میشود گویا نام خانوادگی اوست. سلسله نسبش بپیمبر میرسد، انوری شاعر معاصر او گوید :

افتخار خاندان مصطفی در بلخ و من
کرده هم سلمانی اندر خدمتش هم بوذری
هم نبوت در نسب هم پادشاهی در حسب
کو سلیمان تا در انگشتش کند انگشتری
مسند قاضی القضاة شرق و غرب آراسته
آنکه هست از مسندش عباسیان را برتری
گو حمیدالدین اگر خواهی که وقتی در دو لفظ
مطلقا هرچه حمیدست از صفاتش بشمری[2]

و نیز حکیم انوری در پاسخ قطعه‌ای که قاضی حمیدالدین فرستاده‌بود چکامه‌ای فرستاده در یکی از ابیات آن گفته :

و لیکن بنام حمیدی که اورا   اگر وحی باشد هراسان نویسم

و نیز گوید :

کسی را که نو باوهٔ وحی باشد   بقایای وسواس شیطان نویسم[3] ؟

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۱ لباب الالباب ص ۳۴۳ ج ۱ .
۲ دیوان انوری نسخه قلمی متعلق بنگارنده .
۳ دیوان انوری نسخه قلمی .

VOLUME XIII JUNE 1960 No. 2

INDO-IRANICA

The Quarterly Organ of the Iran Society

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THE INFLUENCE OF HINDI ON INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE IN THE REIGN OF SHAH-JAHÁN (1628-1658)*

By Dr. S. A. H. Abidi, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,

University of Delhi

The chief characteristic of Indo-Persian literature is its richness in indigenous elements; and in this matter the reign of Sháh-Jahán is distinctly noteworthy. It is in this period that Indo-Persian literature is truly Indianized and absorbs the spirit of the land, which is signalized by the assimilation of Hindí words even by Iránian writers.

Abú Ṭálib Kalím Káshání (d. 1651 A.D.) the Poet-Laureate of Sháh-Jahán, who is called the second Khalláqu'l Ma'ání ("the Creator of Ideas"),[1] coming from Irán is so charmed by the Indian environment that he feels tremendous pleasure in using Hindí words, even if they are not indispensable. Shiblí writing in the *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* of poets from the time of Akbar to that of Sháh-Jahán says, "'Urfí"[2] lived throughout his life in India, but during the whole of this period he used only one Hindí word, *jhakkar* (جهکڑ)—Ṭálib-i-Ámulí,[3] used *rám-rangí* (رام رنگی) in one of his verses, which astonished people; but Kalím uses innumerable Hindí words."[4]

Kalím wrote a mathnawí in praise of Akbarábád and Bágh-i-Jahánárá, in which the following words occur quite naturally:

فتاده در دکان یک مهاجن	همه سرمایهٔ دریا و معدن
ز تنبولی دلی دارم همه ریش	ز غم پیچیده همچون بیره بر خویش
ز حسن شستهٔ دوبی چگویم	از آن بی پرده محبوبی چگویم
بتان راجپوت و شیخ زاده	شکیب عاشقان بر باد داده
غرور حسن با جهل پتانی	چو گردد جمع نتوان زندگانی
مگر نرگس بخوبی چشم باغ است	که گر چشم است او چنپه چراغ است

* The lecture was delivered at the I.C.C.R., New Delhi, on the 19th December, 1957.

1 The first being Kamálu'd-Dín Ismá'íl Cf. Browne. A Literary History of Persia, Vol. II, p. 540.

2 'Urfí, a court poet of Akbar, died in 999=1590-1.

3 Ṭálib-i-Amulí, the Poet-Laureate of Jahángír, died in 1036=1626-7.

4 The *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, Vol. III, p. 211.

نهال نیمش از بس خوش نیسم است   دل طوبی ز رشک آن دو نیم است
ز موزونان نظر دریوزه دارم   که وصف مولسری را می‌نگارم
گل سرخ کنول را چون ستایم   چگونه بر سر این مطلب آیم
برای شاهدان این گلستان   بدست کیوره بین بیرهٔ پان
گل کتهل نفهمید است موسم   شکفته چون رخ یار است دائم

The following words are found in other mathnawís including Sháh-Jahán-nama and also in certain qaṣidas:

بهندی چو پنجاه و شش چین است   ازین باعث تسمیه‌اش روشن است
قلم جمع این هر دو بالا چو برد   زر روپیه پانزده لک شمرد
نمیرد چرا آز از استلا   نگهبان نه و لوت بی منتها
در آن عرصه ست سی صد تال لبریز   کز آبش کشت دهقان ست زر خیز
چو ایام برسات نزدیک بود   از آن ملک رجعت مناسب نمود
دگر توره از تحفهٔ پر بها   جدا گشت از بهر شهزاده‌ها
چو از نصف شب شش گری هم گذشت   وزین ساعت عقد مسعود گشت
بلعلش ز الماس افتاده بات   چو آبی که داخل کنی در شراب
بدرشن برآمد چو خور بر سپهر   جهان از رخش غرق انوار مهر
بدریاش دوران برابر نهاد   قضا نام آن بیر ساگر نهاد
هما برد با کاسهٔ خون بسر   سم اسپ چون قالب چیت گر
دگر سرب و باروت و بان آنقدر   که از حمل آن کوه بازد کمر
سه لک هون از خان عادل باو   رسانند این لشکر کینه جو
دو سر اسپ جمدر عطا شد باو   دگر فیل خاص شه نامجو
خطابش شهنشاه جگ راج داد   نباشد ازین حق شناسی زیاد
بهندی بکوکن مسمی بود   بسی خرم از قرب دریا شود
بآهنگ جوهر میان عیال   درآمد پریشان و آشفته حال
دوران ز خوان حشمت شاهی بجشن وزن   اوراق نه فلک را یک بیره پان گرفت
ز حسن تربیت برشگال نیست عجب   که خارپشت شود همچو گل حریر اندام

Mullá Ṭughrá Mashhadí (d. 1078=1667-8) the Munshí of Murád Bakhsh, and the greatest master of his time in the art of ornate prose writing is peculiarly interesting, because although an Iránian he deliberately used innumerable Hindí words throughout his writings.

He did this, not because they were indispensable, but simply to adorn his *Munsha'át*, which are a land mark in the history of Indo-Persian literature specially because they are given an Indian setting. Ṭughrá wanted to give new life to Indo-Persian literature and enrich it from the vast resources of its Indian environment. The following list of words gives explicit proof of this:

(1) صراف بتوده کردن پیسه و روپیه دست برد [1].

(2) تنبولی به بستن برگ تنبول سرخ روئی بدست آورد [2].

(3) چون خواصانش بسرخی هولی درآویزند ماه و آفتاب سودهٔ شفق را برهم ریزند [3].

(4) بدست داکچوکی نظرات دریک طرفةالعین بدربار معلی خبر فرستاد [4].

(5) دیوهره.........

(6) دل‌بادل آسمانیست زرین .... وکتهره کهکشانیست سیمین [5].

(7) کاسهٔ ارگجه در هیأت مشرقیست مالامال تازگی صبح نشاط [6].

(8) زره پوشان را بدگلهٔ سیمین چشم تنگ زره فراخ تر از چارآئینه گشت [7].

(9) شیشهٔ تیل چون حباب سرزیر شده بود [8].

(10) بمناسبت بهل هل نرگاو بر خر چرا نبندند [9].

(11) دیوان.........در کچهری نوابخشی از نی خامه محرران بذوق باشد [10].

(12) داروغهٔ ما چون بانس پالکی تار است افتاده [11].

(13) پر جلائی کنارهٔ دوپته ـ لطافت پتکه پتنی [12].

(14) در هندوستان زمین رفعتش آسمان جوگی ست خاکستر مالیده [13].

1 *Mir'átul-Futúḥ, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, Nawal Kishore Press, p. 47.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
3 *Kanzu'l-Ma'ání, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 58.
4 *Murtafe'át, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 66.
5 *Julúsieh, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 140.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
8 *Ruq'át, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 207.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
12 *Ilhámiyeh, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 35.
13 *Kanzu'l-Ma'ání, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 57.

(15) اگر بلبل فریادی شود در ته کرهٔ خاردار کشند [1].

(16) مالهٔ گوهر .... جوهری فخرکنان بدرگاه می آرد [2].

Further, I may say that Ṭughrá has not utilised Hindí words only for the sake of creating occasional amusement; he wants rather to see Hindí penetrate into Persian to add to its beauty and richness. The field also of simile and metaphor is widened with the help of the indigenous Hindí language. The following words have been integrated and used with اضافت تشبیهی

(1) سهیلیان یاسمن و نسرین از بام خواص پورهای بو ته بکوچهٔ باغ دربار نگاه می کنند [3].

(2) مهاوتان شمال فیلان آب رفتار سحاب را می گذرانیدند [4].

(3) هتنالچیان رعد و برق .... از هرطرف بر سر او ریخته [5].

(4) کلانوتان طیور در سرود خوانی بدستک زدن تال ارتکاب نمودند [6].

(5) جبـهٔ نور افشان خسرو اقبال پرتو افکن جروکهٔ مشرق شد [7].

(6) در بهار پتنهٔ حشمتش کهکشان نیشکریست بی برگ گردیده [8].

(7) تنبولی سپاری سلخ ماه را... ....بمقراض هلالی خود ریزه ننمود [9].

(8) راجهٔ برشگال.........تر دستی کورنش سر سبزی زمرد پذیرفت [10].

The following word is given delicate metaphorical meaning and is used with اضافت :

شامیانهٔ را نقره بافی حشمتی که بر وی جالر صبح اثرش سرخاب شفق تواننـد گشت [11].

1 *Kanzu'l-Ma'ání, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, Nawal Kishore Press, p. 57.
2 *Julúsiyeh, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 133.
3 *Mushábaháti Rabí'i, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 73.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
7 *Murtafe'át, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 64.
8 *Kanzu'l-Ma'ání, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 57.
9 *Chashma'i Faid, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 156.
10 *Kanzu'l-Máni, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 61.
11 *Julúsieh, Rasá'ili-Ṭughrá*, p. 140.

Our Urdú scholars and grammarians emphatically say that we cannot use اضافت with Hindí words; but if such اضافت can be used in Persian, why not in Urdú? Further our grammarians emphasise that we cannot bring واو عطف with Hindí words. Here also I may ask why, since such use of واو عطف is welcomed in Persian, it should not be welcomed also in Urdú. For example Ṭughrá writes:

بارادۂ جنگ آهنگ راگ و رنگ داشتن [1].

Ṭughrá has introduced compound epithets, compound participles and compound nouns by combining Hindí and Persian words:

(1) فرمان برشگال نسق و حکم برسات رونق.... ....خرمی بخش چار حد امن آباد گردید [2].

(2) ناهید در حلقه راگ سرایان او .... ممتاز [3].

(3) قوال زبان بتال نوازی دو لب راگ خوان وصف معراج میتواند گردید [4].

(4) خوانین بفیل یابی عنایت حوضه نشین مهاوت داری کیوان [5].

Also he brings in Persian and Arabic epithets for Hindí words:

(1) کیلهٔ هلال صورت قدش از بار غم احتمال جدائی خم و تاریل بدر هیئت دلش از الم امکان دوری بگرفتگی علم [6].

(2) پای درشن لاهوتیش محل تشریف یابی شقداران اماکن مبدأ و معاد و ته جروکهٔ ناسوتیش مقام خلعت پوشی عمالان موضع کون و فساد [7].

Ṭughrá leads us away from the conventional and foreign surroundings to an increased appreciation of the more familiar indigenous environments. Instead of calling us to appreciate the beauty of the Caucasus, Khallukh, Naushád and Khatá he finds tremendous beauty in the various corners of India. This may be seen in the following lines:

عشرت غمزۂ خوبان گجراتی، و عشوۂ بتان سومناتی، طاؤس خرامی محبوب آگره

1 *Mir'átu'l-Futúh, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* Nawal Kishore Press, p. 45.
2 *Chashma'i Faid, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* p. 174.
3 *Kanzu'l-Ma'ání, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* p. 58.
4 *Chashma'i Faid, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* p. 150.
5 *Julúsíyeh, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* p. 147.
6 *Majma'ul-Ghará'ib, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* p. 68.
7 *Chashma'i Faid, Rasá'ilí-Ṭughrá,* p. 149.

و طوطی کلامی دلبر سودهره، تازگی تن رعنای لاهور و نازک بدنی زیبای جونپور، لاغر میانی شوخ بنگاله و فربه سرینی بت انباله[1].

Since he came from Irán to India, and both countries have equal claim upon him, he is justified in producing a composite picture of both, such as may be seen in the following:

کزلک چون قاش خربزه کاریز بشیرینی علم گشت و مقط از شاخ نبات کالپی در حلاوت گذشت، دوات چون کدوی اسرود خراسانی بآب عسل آمیخت و لیفه چون کوکچه، سلطانی عراق بشیرهٔ قند در آویخت .... کیله را از بار کلفت خمی پشت روی داد و کتهل را از رنج کدورت آماس بشکم افتاد، خون آلوبالون سوداوی رنگ می نماید[2].

Ṭug͟hrá was not only a great prose-writer but also a notable poet. He had travelled throughout India and seen all its important cultural centres, and was very much impressed by our various Indian festivals. The author of the *Suḥuf-i-Ibráhím* writes that Ṭug͟hrá used to accompany Holí processions and throw colour on them. In one of his qaṣídas Ṭug͟hrá describes Holí and uses the following Hindí words:

گردیده مینا راگ خوان رنگ صدا گشته عیان
وز نغمهٔ آب ارغوان در جوی تکرار آمده

شد وقت هولی باختن با رنگ و بو پرداختن
خود را چوگلبن ساختن باغ ارم خوار آمده

آن شوخ کترائی لقب چون رخ گشاید نیم شب
پیدا شود صبح طرب خورشید رخسار آمده

رجپوتنی دل میبرد جان نیز غافل میبرد
ایمان ز کامل میبرد از بسکه طرار آمده

گر بگردن مالها یک مه فکنده هالها
نی نی که هر سو ژالها با شاخ گل یار آمده

زان چهره‌های بادله دستار گل دارد گله
تا بی شمیمش قافله در صحن گلزار آمده

1 *Ilhámíyeh, Rasá'il-i-Ṭug͟hrá,* Nawal Kis͟hore Press, pp. 35-36.
2 *Ruqqa'át, Rasá'il-i-Ṭug͟hrá,* p. 242.

One of Ṭug͟hrá's qaṣídas is in praise of Mahárája Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur (d. 1678 A.D.) in which the following Hindí words occur:

سرو پنجالی نیارد رو بباغ نولکه   فاخته گشته کرور از شاخ گل عرعر کند
بسته می گردد زبان طوطی باغ ارم   نرگس جادوی سبز دا که چون منتر کند
بهر آن خورشید چاکر فیلبان روزگار   فیل گردون را ز سیندور شفق زیور کند
بسکه می‌آید هزبری از کف آن شیر دل   تیر مار برچهٔ او حملهٔ اژدر کند

In one of his *tarjí'bands* the following line is repeated at the end of every strophe:

مرا زین دیار سراپا خزینه   نه لینا نه دینا نه کانا نه پینا

The following Hindí words are used by Ṭug͟hrá in his Sáqí-Náma and other poems:

ازان برگ پان سرخ رو می‌شود   که دمساز یاقوت رو می‌شود
گل تیکه بر طاق ابروی او   بود خار مشکین ترازوی او
بگیسوی خود گر نریزد فلیل   چسان بوی عنبر کند رو به تیل
چو باشی بمجلس نوا سنج تال   توان خواندنت مطرب پرتکال
بهرگوشه سنیاسی خاک مال   تنی از قناعت برنگ خلال
ز هتپول چون یک شرر کرده گل   ضیا رفته تا روی نه سبز پل
چو آتش در آب افکند پلجری   در آب آید آتش بموج تری
دلم هاتی ابرسانی نیافت   ز جاگیر و منصب نشانی نیافت
بهندوستان چرخ ناگشته اهل   بکامم نگردید چون چرخ بهل
چو با پالکی نیست آرایشی   نزیبد بکهار فرمایشی
مغنی تو گریالی محفلی   زگریال خود از چه رو غافلی
قدح درمیان طاس گریالی است   که چون گشت پر یک گری خالی است
ندادی پکاوج گرش از شمیم   پکاوج نوازی نکردی نسیم
بسر از شفق چهرهٔ صندلی   بپا از گیه جوتی مخملی
به پچکاریش هر که پرداخته   کج از نقرهٔ صبحدم ساخته
باو یکقلم چیت گر یار نیست   اگر رشوه چیت قلمکار نیست
گل آفتابش بپسنی دمید   که صد بدر را بلبل خویش دید
مغنی بیا ای بت راگ خوان   طرب کهنه شد نقش نورس بخوان

چو هر سو حمایل کند هار گل   سبک سرو گردد گرانبار گل
اگر پتکهٔ او نباشد زری   خجل می‌شود بوتهٔ جعفری
چو مطرب پی گیت خوانی شود   بنام خموشی فغانی شود
نوا فهم را صوت سردنگ و تال   بوجد آورد همچو ارباب حال
اگر شور بختم بود در چمک   چه سوداگریها کند از نمک
رسد کنهلش همچو گردون بسی   هلالش بود کیلهٔ فارسی
ز تنبولیم چونه‌وش داغ پخت   که با من بود چون سپاری ز سخت
درخت عظیمی که نامش بر است   بشاخش چو وامی رسی بی بر است
یک پیسه ازآن نفع ندارند چوماهی   جمعی که پس انداز نمودند درم را
غنچه بنشیند دو زانو در دبستان چمن   همچو طفلان برهمن بید را ازبر کند
نسترن چون شاسترخوانان نمیگردد ازین   گر ز روی مصحف گل یک سخن باور کند
ز ساهان که یک فرقه اند از مهاجن   کسی کو که صد خانه‌اش زر نباشد
ز پانی‌پت آنکس که نوشیده پانی   چو طوطی شده سبز رطب اللسانی
چو خاکستر تکیهٔ جوگیانش   ندید است چشم فلک توتیائی
چو بازار این شهر را دیده هندو   به از چته بازار لاهور خوانده
خریدار شود ململ سرخ کارش   کف مشتری همچو لعل تر افتد
درین سر زمین مهادیو ریشه   کند گل پریزاد رنگی صنم را
نخواند کم زده سر خامهٔ تصنیف قوالان   چو یک بیت بلند افتد پچنگ‌نامهٔ طغرای
تخت روان چرخ خود آید بدرگهش   کهار دهر را چو بگوید بیار تخت
زلف را از تیل چنبیلی نماید چرب نم   تافتد از حلقهٔ مویش بروغن نان حسن
از چه رو چپی نگردد راه گل   وقت رفتن بلبلش فریاد کرد
گرنی آچی بدست خویش گیردآن نگار   تا بآچی از خط وخالش نگارستان شود

One of Ṭughrá's ghazals has been composed with a ردیف which is a mixture of Persian and Hindí:

بیتو بطک کباب شد زود بیا جگے جگے   آتش باده آب شد زود بیا جگے جگے
حنگ بسی پر از فغان بهرطلب نمودنت   همنفس رباب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

دختر رز بهر طرف کرد نگه ترا ندید   از پی اضطراب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

تا تو نمی‌کشی قدح آب نمی‌رسد بگل   باغ طرب خراب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

از شب قدر زلف تو روی ندید بزم ما   دشمن ماهتاب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

شیشه ز دوری لبت زمزمه فسانه زد   چشم قدح بخواب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

دیر مکن درآمدن کز گل نارسیدنت   تازگی از گلاب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

شیفته بی کرشمه‌ات زد به پیاله دست‌زد   بی مزهٔ شراب شد زود بیا جگے جگے

Ẕafar Khán Aḥsan (d. 1662-1663) A.D.), the patron of Ṣái'b (d. 1670-1671 A.D.) and of many other Persian poets and scholars, uses many Hindí words in his mathnawí in praise of Kashmír. A list of these words is given below:

ز تنبولی و از بقال و عطار   بسر گرم است در هر کوچه بازار

ز نی مشکل که خیزد دیگر آهنگ   ز رشک بانسلی دارد دل تنگ

کمانچه هم ازین حلقه نجسته   ز تیر طعن سارنگی ست خسته

پکاوج گشت تا با دهلکی ساز   بتانرا گرم شد هنگامهٔ ناز

نهال بولسری آن زیب گلشن   کزو گل میتوان بردن بخرمن

ز گلها کیوره گردید ممتاز   درو پیچیده بو چون نغمه در ساز

شکفته آنچنان گلهای کچنار   که گوئی آتش افتاده بگلزار

ز کتهل دیده تا رنگ اصالت   بود در رنگریزی از خجالت

ز جوش بیل و از جوهی و جاهی   نگه را می‌شود کشتی تباهی

ز طوطی و ز مینا و ز کویل   ز هریل آنکه آهنگش برد دل

ز کمرک بزم مستان گشت روشن   ز شمع او گلستان گشت روشن

بود از پالسه و ز بیر و جامن   بگلشن باغبان را چشم روشن

ز کیله چون بتقریبی سرودم   بود بر روح افیونی .... دم

ز وصف پان کنم رنگین سخن را   که نامش میکند رنگین دهن را

گرفته یک قلم اقلیم دل را   جهانگیری مسلم شد کنول را

Ẕafar Khán endowed his beloved with a type of beauty far more Indian than Íránian and he considered the beauty of his Indian beloved superior to the beauty of any traditional literary type, as the following lines show:

در فصل زعفران می چون ارغوان خوش است

با شوخ سبز چهرهٔ هندوستان خوش است

انصاف می دهند بحرفم عراقیان
محبوب هند و بادهٔ هندوستان خوش است
ای عزیزان پیش این سبزان تـه گلگون هند
خوار می گردد عزیز مصر اگر پیدا شـود
ز شـرم حسـن گنـدم گـون سبـزان
سفیـد اینجا نـگـردد حسن ایـران
بـه پیش حسن سبـزان هیچ شک نیست
کـه خـوبان خطائـی را نمـک نیست

Yaḥyá Káshí (d. 1653 A.D.), the librarian of Sháh-Jahán uses the following Hindí words in his kullíyát:[1]

آن پنجها که بهله صفت دست شان ز زر | کوتاه بود کی ز کمرها جدا شوند
موها که با سر از شکم مادر انـدر یار | نه هیچ چیزهای دو دمری بها شوند
رخ گشت از طپانچه بی عزتی چو گل | طفلانـه بهر سرخی لب پانخا شوند
گر پیسه صبح خورده بدمری کنند شام | از حاتمی گدای در بانیا شونـد
چاؤل دال و کانه ... ... | ... ...
بود پیر صاحب مرید آنکه باشـد | مـدارش بوصف کپـور و مـداری
کجا پا نهادم که بـر سـر نخوردم | پی دفع تلـوار و دوب و کتاری

Leaving aside these great Iránian scholars, it will not be surprising if the same trend is pursued by Indians. Fání Kashmírí (d 1670-71 A.D.) has got a qaṣída in praise of Sháhjahán in which the following words occur :

نـوبهار آمـد بسیر گلشن هندوستان | زیبـد ار طوطیّ بجای پر برآرد برگ پان
در چمن هر صبح مینا می کند راگ بسنت | نیست طوطی را بجز کلیان چون بلبل زبان
چنپه میگیرد چو نرگس دست گلچین را بزر | لالـه می بنـدد حنا چو گل بپای باغبان
گل ز شبنم هار چنبیلـی بگردن افکنـد | تا تواند شد حریف شاهد هندوستان
سیم و زر را وام میگیرد ز چنبیلی و بیل | نـرگس از بهر نثار ثانـی صاحبقران

In the same way Abu'l-Barakát Munir Láhorí (d. 1644-5 A.D.),

1 Ms. 331, Bánkípore Library.

the companion of Saif Khán (d. 1639-40 A.D.), composed a mathnawí in praise of Bengál, in which the following words have occurred:

شبیه او همه از چنگ جویند — و لیکن اهل هندش نای گویند

چنان چنبیلی از فیض است سرشار — که او را نسترن باشد پرستار

به نزهت رای بیل اندیش گشته — بخوبی دلنشین خویش گشته

به وصف سیوتی گشتم چوگو یا — چو برگ گل زبانم گشت گویا

به رای‌چنپه رای مدح دارم — به رنگ و بوی معنی هست کارم

به وصف کیوره‌اش بخشد سخن ساز — سخن را رنگ سحر و بوی اعجاز

بغیر از جوهی و جاهی ندانند — که هم جاهی و هم جوهیش خوانند

دگر چنپه که سلطانش خطاب است — بگلشن روز و شب درکار آب است

بگلشن بندلی مانند زرگر — بهم افروخته چندین جوی زر

گل ناکیسرش از رنگ و از بو — دهد آرایش فکر ثنا گو

کسی کو آگهی در پوست دارد — پیاری را زگلها دوست دارد

سهاگن تازه رو باشد همیشه — که او را تازه روئی هست پیشه

چو وصف کیله را طبعم کند سر — زبان خامه گردد نوش پرور

درهل را در صفا کاری بدل نیست — به وصفش هرچه گویم بی محل نیست

نگر کمرک برنگ عاشقانه — شده از فیض یکرنگی ترانه

ز هرباریوری کردم سخن سر — شدم دم ساز اهل ذوق دیگر

چو طاؤسی به بینم سرکنم شور — که نام اوست در هندی زبان مور

GLOSSARY OF HINDI WORDS

آچی = آنچی – आंची—adj: flaming= شعله‌بار — شعله‌ور .

ارگجه = ارگجا – अरगजा—n. mas. a perfume prepared from sandal-wood, rose, camphor, musk and others= یک مادهٔ خوشبو که از صندل و گلاب و کافور و مشک وغیره درست می کنند

بات = باٹ —बाट—n. mas. path, way, route, road= طریق - جاده - راه . بات افتادن is the literal translation of the Hindí idiom بات پڑنا =to tease, to trouble= در تشویش انداختن . آزار کردن - زحمت دادن - مضطرب کردن - اذیت کردن .

بان = बान —n. mas. an arrow, a kind of firework= یکنوع آتشبازی در هند .

بانس = बांस —n. mas. a bamboo= نی هندی .

بادله = بادلا बादला—n. mas. flattened gold-thread= کلابتون زر.

بانسری ، بانسلی = बांसली बांसुरी—n. fem. a flute, reed= نی .

بانیا = بنیا —बनिया—n. mas. a grocer= بقال .

پتانی = پٹھانی -- पठानी—n. fem. the wife of a Pathán (people inhabiting the hilly country in Afghánistán= اهالی ناحیه پشتو - مردم کوهستانی افغانستان)—or a Pathán lady= خانم پتان - زن پتان .

برشگال = ورشاکال—वर्षाकाल वर्षा—n. fem. rain=باران+काल—n. mas. season =فصل)—n. fem. the rainy season= فصل باران .

برچه = برچھا -- बरछा—n. mas. a lance, a dart= نیزه .

برسات = बरसात—n. mas. the rainy season, the rains= فصل بارندگی .

بر = بڑ – बड़——n. mas. a banyan tree= یکنوع درخت در هند .

بسنت = बसंत—n. mas. the spring season= بهار .

بندلی = बंदली ——n. mas. a kind of flower= یکنوع گل .

بهل = बहल—n. fem. roofed bullock-cart= گاری که با گاو کشیده می شود .

بهله = بهلا — बहिला—adj. a barren Cattle= چارپایان عقیم .

بیره = بیڑا बीड़ा—n. mas. a betel leaf seasoned and folded= برگ پیچیده و ادویه زدهٔ تنبول .

بیرساگر = बीरसागर—name of a big lake= اسم یک دریاچهٔ بزرگ (बीर— بیر —adj. brave= بهادر + ساگر — सागर —n. mas. a big lake= دریاچهٔ بزرگ) .

بیل = बैल- n. mas. a bullock, a bull, an ox= گاونر .

بیل = बेल--n. fem. a creeping plant= پیچک - گیاه خزنده .

پان = पान—n. mas. betel leaf= برگ تنبول .

پانی = पानी—n. mas. water=آب .

پتکه = پٹکا पटका—n. mas. a slash to be wrapped round the waist= کمربند پارچه‌ای پهن - شال کمر .

پتنه = پٹنا = पटना—n. mas. the modern city of Patna= یکی از شهرهای قدیم هند که امروز مرکز استان بهار است .

پچکاری = पिचकारी—n. fem. a springe=آب دزدک .

پکاوج — پکھاوج = पखावज—n. fem. a kind of drum=یکنوع طبل .

پلجری = پھلجھڑی = फुलझड़ी—n. fem. a kind of firework=یکنوع آتشبازی .

پیاری = प्यारी—n. fem. beloved=محبوب ; a kind of flower= یکنوع گل در هند .

پیسه = پیسا = पैसा—n. mas. pice=یکنوع سکه مسی در هند .

تاریل = تاڑ ताड़ —n. mas. the toddy tree, the palmyra tree= یکجور نخل در هند و سیلان .

تال = ताल —n. fem. musical measure= ضرب موسیقی ; mas. a pond= استخر .

تلوار = तलवार—n. fem. sword= شمشیر .

تنبولی = तंबोली (also तमोली—n. mas. the man who sells betel leaves= تنبول‌فروش .

توره = توڑا = तोड़ा—n. mas. an ornament for the wrist=دست بند a bag containing one thousand rupees= کیسه‌ای که دارای هزار روپیه باشد .

تیکه = ٹیکا = टीका—n. mas. mark made on the forehead with sandal paste, vermilion= نشانهٔ قرمز - قشقه - خال قرمز بزرگ ; an ornament for the forehead= یکنوع زیور پیشانی .

تیل = तेल—n. mas. oil=روغن .

جامن = जामुन—n. mas. a kind of black plum=یکنوع آلوی سیاه در هند .

جالر = جھالر =झालर—n. fem. trimming consisting of hanging threads= حاشیه ریشه دار .

جروکه = جھروکا =झरोका—n. mas. window, a small aperture, peephole= روزنه - دریچه - روزن - پنجره .

جکر = جھکڑ =झकड़—n. mas. a strong wind, a gale= باد سخت ـ تند باد .

جگ راج = जगराज —n. mas. lord of the world= شاه جهان (جگ = जग —n. mas. the world= جهان - گیتی + راج — राज —n. mas. a king= شاه) .

جگے = जगे—adj. awake=بیدار .

جمدر = جمدھر =जमधर—n. mas. a kind of dagger= یکنوع خنجر .

جوگی = जोगी—n. mas. a saint= مقدس ; a devotee, an ascetic= مرتاض زاهد .

جوتی= जूती—n. fem. shoes worn by ladies= کفش زنانه .

جوهی=जूही—n. fem. a kind of jasmine= یکنوع یاسمن .

جوهر = जौहर —n. mas. the ancient custom among Rájpúts according to which their ladies in order to save their honour from the conquering enemy hurled themselves on a burning pyre=

چـو بـر راجپوتان بهنگام جنگ شـود کار بسیار دشـوار و تنگ
کشند آنچه باشـد ز اهل و عیال مسمی بجوهـر بود ایـن قتال
(کلیم کاشانـی)

چاول = चावल—n. mas. rice= برنج .

چپی = चुप्पी—n. fem. silence= خاموشی

چپن = چهپن = छप्पन—adj. fifty-six= شصت و پنج .

چتـه = چهتا = छत्ता—n. mas. covered path= بازار سر پوشیده - راه سر پوشیده

چسنی = चुसनी—n. fem. a child's coral= جوجوک—پستانک.

چمک = चमक—n. fem. shine, flash, glare= تابش - درخشندگی - برق .

چنپه = چنپا = चंपा —n. mas. the tree Michelia Champacca which bears fragrant yellow flowers= یکنوع گل و درخت آن .

چنبیلی=چمیلی= चमेली—n. fem. the jasmine plant and it's fragrant flower= یاسمن .

چونه= چونا = चूना—n. mas. lime= آهک .

چیت = چهینٹ —छींट—n. fem. printed cloth= چیت .

دال — दाल —n. fem. pulse= حبوبات .

داک چوکی=ڈاک چوکی—डाकचौकी—n. fem. relay-station= چاپارخانه .

درشن — दर्शन —n. mas. visit, seeing= زیارت .

دگله — دگلا —दगला —n. mas. a quilted gown= کوتی کهلای آن پنبه باشد — کوت پنبه دار .

دل بادل— दलबादल—n. mas. a large tent= خیمهٔ خیلی بزرگ - خیمهٔ شاهی.

دمری = دمڑی =दमड़ी —n. fem. the fourth part of a pice= یک چهارم پیسه .

دوبی = دهوبی = धोबी—n. mas. washerman= رخت شو .

دوپته = ڈپٹا = डुपट्टा—n. mas. a lady's scarf= روگردنی .

دولک = ڈھولک = ढोलक—n. fem. a small drum= طبل کوچک.

دولکی = ڈھولکی = ढोलकी—n. mas. a drummer= طبل زن .

دیوهره = دیوهرا = देवहरा—n. mas. temple بتخانه (دیو = देव god= خانۀ خدا) خانه=house—हरा + هرا + خدا .

رام رنگی = रामरंगी—n. fem. name given to wine by Jahangir= جهانگیر شراب را رام رنگی اسم داده بود .

راجه = راجا = राजा—n. mas. a king, monarch, lord=شاه = پادشاه .

راجپوت = राजपूत—n. mas. a clan of K<u>sh</u>atriyas= دسته‌ای از چتریان که در استان راجپوتانه سکونت داشته اند .

رای بیل = रायबेल—n. fem. name of a creeping plant= یکنوع پیچک (رای राय—n. mas. a king, chieftain= کدخدا = بیل बेल—n. fem. creeping plant= پیچک - گیاه خزنده) .

رجپوتنی = راجپوتنی = राजपूतनी n. fem. wife of a Rájpút, a Rájpút woman =زن راجپوت - خانم راجپوت .

روپیه = روپیا = रूपया—n. mas. a rupee= واحدپول هند و فعلا تقریبا برابر با شانزده ریال ایران است .

سارنگی = सारंगी—n. fem. a musical instrument= نوعی از آلات موسیقی .

ساهو = साहू—n mas. a money-lender= پول وام‌ده - رباخوار .

ساه = साह—n. mas. a banker= بانک دار .

سپاری = सुपारी—n. fem. the betelnut= فوفل تنبول .

سر = सुर —n. mas. musical note= مقام موسیقی .

سنیاسی = सन्यासी —n. mas. a hermit= زاهد گوشه نشین .

سهاگن = सुहागन —n. fem. a female whose husband is alive= زن شوهردار ; name of a flower= یکنوع گل در هند .

سهیلی = सहेली —n. fem. a female companion= دختری که دوست دختر دیگر باشد .

سیندور = सेंदूर—n. mas. red, vermilion= مادۀ قرمزی که زنان شوهر دارهندی برای قشنگی آنرا بوسط پیشانی و فرق سر خود می مالند .

سیوتی = सेवती —n. fem. the white rose, also called eglantine= نسترن .

شاستر = शास्त्र —n. mas. a sacred book, scripture= کتاب آسمانی . کتاب مقدس .

فلیل = پھلیل = फुलेल —n. mas. fragrant hair oil= روغن خوشبوی سر .

کانا = کھانا = खाना - n. vi t. to eat= خوردن .

کپور = कपूर - n. mas. Camphor= کافور

کتہل = کٹھل = कटहल —n. mas. the jack-fruit= یکنوع میوه در هند .

کترائی = کھترائی = کھتری —खत्री - n. mas. a caste among Hindus - یکی از نژادهای هندوان .

کتاری = کٹاری = कटारी —n. fem. a small hatchet= تیشه .

کچہری = कचहरी —n. fem. a court of justice= دادگاه .

کچنار = कचनार —n. fem. the tree banlimia variegata the flowers of which are used as vegetable= یکنوع درخت وگل آن .

کره = کڑا = कड़ा —n. mas. a bangle= خلخال .

کلیان = कल्याण - n. mas. a musical mode sung after sunset = آواز شامگاهی

کلانوت = کلاونت = कलावन्त—n. mas. a singer, a musician= رامشگر - خنیاگر - آواز خوان - نغمه سرا .

کمرک = کمرکھ = कमरख—n. mas. a certain tree anerrohoa carambola and it's fruit= یکنوع میوه .

کنول = کمل = कमल—n. mas. the lotus plant and it's flower= نیلوفر آبی .

کوکن = کونکن = कोंकण - -n. mas. a piece of land in the south of India= یک قطعهٔ زمین در جنوب هند .

کویل = कोयल —n. fem. the Indian Cuckoo= کوکوی هندی .

کہار = कहार —n. mas. a caste among Hindús in India. They are professional water-carriers and are after employed to carry palanquins= دستهای از کارگران هند که از چاه آب می‌کشند و مردم را در پالکی می‌برند .

کیوره = کیوڑا = क्योड़ा—n. mas. the fragrant flower pandanus= یکنوع گل در هند .

کیله = کیلا = केला —n. mas. banana= موز .

گری = گھڑی = घड़ी—n. fem. a space of 24 minutes= بیست و چهار دقیقه occasion= موقع ; machine for showing time= ساعت .

گریال = گھڑیال = घड़ियाल—n. mas. a big gong= ناقوس - زنگ .

گریالی = گھڑیالی = घड़ियाली —n. mas. one who rings a big gong= ناقوس زن - زنگ زن .

گیت = गीत—n. fem. a song= آواز - تصنیف - سرود - نغمه .

لاکھ = لاکھ = लाख—adj. a hundred thousand= صدهزار .

لوت = لوٹ = लूट —n. fem. plunder, spoil, pillage, ravage, robbery= غارت چپاول - تاراج - یغما .

ماله = مالا = माला—n. fem. a garland of flowers= گلبند ; a rosary= تسبیح .

مداری = मदारी —n. mas. a snake-charmer, a juggler= شعبده باز .

مردنگ = मृदंग—n. fem. a kind of drum= یکنوع طبل .

ململ = मलमल —n. fem. muslim= مشمش .

منتر = मंत्र —n. mas. magic, spell= جادو - افسون - طلسم ; a Vedic text= متن وید or Vedic lymn= سرود وید .

مور = मोर —n. mas. a peacock= طاؤس .

مولسری ،بولسری = मौलसरी 'बौलसरी —n. fem. the tree Ninsops dengi= یکنوع درخت .

مہاجن = महाजन —n. mas. a Capitalist= سرمایه دار

مہاوت = महावत —n. mas. the driver of an elephant= فیلبان .

مہادیو = महादेव —n. mas. the God Shiva= یکی از خدایان هندوان .

ناکیسر = ناگیسر = ناگ کیسر = नागेसर — नागकेसर —n. mas. the medicinal tree Messna ferrea and it's flower= یکنوع درخت وگل آن .

ناو = नाव —n. mas. a boat= کرجی - کشتی .

نولکه = نولکھا = नौलखा —n. mas. priced nine lakhs of rupees, very valuable= خیلی پربها - بسیارگرانبها .

نیم = नीम —n. mas. the margosa tree= یکنوع درخت در هند .

وید = वेद —n. mas. the holy scripture of the Hindús revealed by Brahmana preserved by tradition and arranged in the present form by Vyás, originally three in number viz. Rig, Yajus, Sama, the Atharva was afterwards added= کتاب مقدس هندوان .

هاتی = هاتھی = हाथी —n. mas. an elephant= فیل .

هتپول = هتپھول =हथफूल—n. mas. a kind of firework= یکنوع آتشبازی .

هتنالچی = هتهنالچی = हथनालची —n. mas. elephant-gunner توپچی .

هتنال = هتهنال = हथनाल —n. mas. elephant-gun = توپی که بر فیل حمل می کردند .

هریل = هارل = हारिल हरयल —n. mas. the green pigeon = کبوتر سبز .

هریاریوری = هریاریوڑی —हरयारियोरी—n. fem. a kind of flower = یکنوع گل .

هل = हल —n. mas. a plough = شخم .

هن = हुन —n. mas. a gold coin = یکنوع سکهٔ زرکه در هند رایج بوده است ; gold = زر .

هولی = होली —n. fem. a great Hindú festival, observed on the last day of the bright half of Phágun = یکی از جشنهای قدیم هند .



SABK-I-HINDI

(The Indian style of Persian Prose*)

With special reference to Inshá'

BY DR. MOMIN MOHIUDDIN, M.A., Ph.D. (Edinb.)

(I)

The consolidation of the Sultanate of Delhi coincided with the rise of the Mongols in Turkistán. Waves of scholars, savants and Ṣúfís infiltrated into India from the subjugated lands. The splendour of the courts of Khwárazm and Khurásán was transferred to Delhi, Multan and Lakhnauti. The Sultan's court became "an asylum, refuge, resting place, and point of safety."[1]

Amongst the immigrants who finally adopted India as their land, most hailed from Transoxiana. With its scholars, excellence theologians, 'Ulamá' and Imáms, 'which no country produced since the time of the Holy Prophet';[2] Transoxiana exercised a preponderant influence on other Muslim lands. Under the auspices of Túránís, Muslim learning and teachings flourished in India, as did the Persian language and literature.

In the preface to his díwán the *Ghurrat u'l-Kamál*, Amír Khusrau Dihlawí (651-752/1253-1325) holds the scholars of Hindústán, particularly the Munshís, in high esteem and notes some very interesting dilectal peculiarities of the Khurásánís and Sístánís. He says, "The learned men of Hindústán, especially the immigrants who have settled down in Dihlí surpass all other scholars in their erudition. (But) any Arab, Khurásání, Turk, Hindu or any other who comes to Indian cities like Dihlí, Multán and Lakhnautí, and not to places like, Gujrát, Malwa and Deogír, the abodes of Hindu idolatry, cannot change his tongue even if he spends his life there, and shall certainly speak according to the standard of his own country. If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually converses and mixes with the inhabitants of Dihlí yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurásání, 'Iráqí, Shírází or a Turk,

* A talk (Part I) given under the auspices of Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi.

1 Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí, Tr. H. C. Raverty, London 1881, Vol. 1, p. 598-99.

2 Bábur-náma, Tr. Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 75.

however, well-disposed he may be, always commits errors in Hindawí (هندوی) language even if he burns many a midnight candle. ...... But a Munshí born and brought up in the cities of Hindústán, especially in Dihlí, without much practice (*mumárasat*) can speak any language in its (correct) style and can even mould the prose and poetry (of that language) and adopt the style of any country he visits. And it has been proved by experience that several of our (munshís) who never had the opportunity of visiting Arabia, have acquired eloquance in Arabic language.[3]"

Persian, being the language of the Turkish ruling class, was learnt by all the Indians without the aid of any grammar for 'there had not yet been evolved any grammatical system' by the time of Amír Khusrau. In fact, Khurásán maintains, 'there was no need to learn the rules of grammar of the Persian language, since every one from the banks of the Indus to the sea-shore, knew the language.' This Persian parlance enjoyed uniformity of idiom throughout the length of four thousand parasangs, unlike the Hindawí tongue, which had no settled idiom and varied after every hundred miles and with every group of people.'[1]

Persian was written as it was pronounced, according to the standard of Transoxiana, the Persian of that country being similar to that of Hindústán, and because Persian had lost its purity of idiom every where except in that country.[2] "The Khurásánís, for example," observes Khusrau in his Ghurrat u'l-Kamál "pronounce Cha (چه) as Chí (چی) and some of them say *Kajún* (کجون) instead of *Kujá* (کجا), the correct pronunciation being denoted by the spelling. There are several other words, which they write correctly but pronounce differently." "Similarly," continues Khurásán, "people from (انزاریان) (اتراریان؟) and بالاصاغیان؟ say, *Karda-kun* and Karda-kun for *Karda* and the Sístánís are prone to conclude their sentences with *Hín* e.g. Gufta-hín and Rafta-hín.[3]"

1 Kulliyát-i-Khusrau, India Office Ms. [1,187,], ff. 161b-162b; Ghurrat, I.O.Ms. ff. 17a-b. Compare Wahid Mirza: The Life and Works Of Amir Khusrau, Calcutta 1935, p. 160.

2 Nuh-Sipihr, Amir Khusrau. Ed. Dr. Wahid Mirza, Oxford, 1950, preface pp. xxx-xxxi, Text p. 173; Vide also Ghurrat. fol. 17b.

3 Ghurrat. *ibid.*

4 *Ibid.* Dr. Wahid Mirza's reading is Azarbaijan (آذربائیجان) (p. 160). It is interesting to note that Indians even to the present day pronounce چ as *Cha* "چنان" as Chunán. However, Khusrau in his I'jáz-i-Khusraví pronounces Chunán as Chinán (as it is pronounced at present in Iran). The Chunán is the *correct* pronunciation (*i.e.* Chún+án=Chunán, similarly Chumín=Chún+ín.

Thus in view of the common features of the Persian tongue of both Transoxiana and Hindústán, it was logical for the Indian writers to accept as immediate models the authors of Transoxiana. It was not, therefore, without significance that Rashíd-al-Dín Watwát and Baháa'l-Dín Baghdádí of the Khwárazmians were looked upon as literary preceptors, and their Munshaáts as the standard text books on the art of epistolography. They were widely read and imitated by the munshís, for the sake of their "flow of style like the rippling waters of the Euphrates." The traditional style of these masters, "like a barge loaded with the rhetorical ornaments continued on one track under the Indian sun, for no other course had been yet discovered."[1]

Khusrau in his *I'jáz-i-Khusraví*, one of the earliest treatises written in India on the art of epistolary composition and rhetoric, notices that although the old style had become too conventional to allow any innovation, there had been developing in the Indian milieu a new style of prose "mixed with delightful artifices," 'the relish of which was almost unknown to the "ice-crunchers" (*yakh-shikanán*) of Transoxiana and Khurásání,[2] Khusrau himself attempted to introduce his own original style of epistolary composition, which as he calls it, was a medley (*sikbá*) prepared with the flavour and spices of íhám and Khayál to the exclusion of all other verbal tropes.[3] This style, which he considers to be "light as water," was according to him original and distinct from all the nine styles in vogue.[4] The miracle performed by Khusrau in his epistles through a "concealed revelation (*Wahy-i-makhfí*)," reduced, in fact, his *I'jáz* to a mere magic of words and puns, and won him but a handful of followers like, Zuhúrí, Abu'l-Barakát Munír, Ni'mat Khán-i-'Álí and Mirzá 'Abdal-Qádir Bí-dil. The indigenous style of prose "mixed with delightful artifices" which took its root during the age of Khusráu, blossomed in the hands of the newer generation of Indian writers and enjoyed its vernal days in the Indian Summer of the Mughul period. The old style of the masters came to be discarded gradually, because it was difficult to imitate such a style which was a "pass studded with nails."[5] It did not, however entirely disappear for in every age some would follow in the footprints of Nasr-Allah Munshí (Abu'l-Ma'álí), Wassáf and others.[6] The indigenous style, which we may call the *Sabk-i-Hindí*, owes its development to various historical cultural and diatectal factors.

1 I'jáz-i-Khusraví (British Museum Ms. 16,841) ff. 24a and 254a.
2 I'jáz fol. 24a, Compare also Wahíd Mírza's Amír Khusrau, p. 216 etc.
3 *Ibid.* ff. 25a, 28b, 321a-b.
4 *Ibid.* ff. 19b-22a.
5 I'jáz. ff. 24a, 321a.
6 Manázir al-Inshá' (Br. Mus. Ms. 22,706) fol. 43.

(i) The texture of the Inshá style as woven by the masters, displays dominant elements of Arabic. Since the use of Arabic constructions, phrases and expressions was regarded as an important feature of the Inshá' style, it was incumbent on the munshís to follow that conventional line of the masters.[1] It, therefore. demanded a command of both Arabic and Persian and required the secretary's inventive genius 'to prepare unique perfumes by judiciously mixing the sandal of 'Ajam with the musk of Arabia.'[2] To possess a profound knowledge of the Arabic classics, and to be able to appreciate the poetry of Abú-Tammám, Abú-Firás, Mutanabbí and the prose works of Ṣábí, 'Utbí and the like, was the most requisite accomplishment.[3]

It seems that such a profound knowledge of Arabic in particular, and so high a standard could not be achieved by the Indian writers of the later period. Certainly the munshís born and brought up in Dihlí distinguished themselves as linguists and acquired an aloquence in Arabic denied to the Arab themselves, but knowledge of Arabic in the case of most of the Indians (indigenous Muslims and converts) did not reach beyond the study of the Qur'án as a religious discipline. For the Hindawí speaking Indians it was easier to adopt Persian because of its Sanskritic affinities, but Arabic was difficult to assimilate even with the aid of "systematized grammar"[4] (like the Káfiya and the Sháfiya of Ibn al-Ḥájib d.A.d. 1248). To acquire eloquence and elegance in the speaking and writing of the Arabic language was the achievement of only a section of Indians, like the 'ulamá ; Ṣúfís and jurists.

This does not in any case imply a total inability of the Indians to learn Arabic, although it does suggest a lack of enthusiasm for it and consequently a dearth of literature produced by them in that language. The fact that the study of Arabic classics and the use of Arabicised Persian prose style had lost all its fascination for the writers of the later Sultanate period is amply borne out by the remark of Khwája Jahán Maḥmúd-i-Gáván, the vizier of the Bahmaní Kingdom and author of the Riyáḍ al-Inshá' and the Manáẓir al-Inshá. He says, "Most of the people entertain a dislike for the quartains of Ibn Yamín and the poetry of Mutanabbí, Abú-Firás, Ẓahír and Abú-Tammám. The prose works

1 *Ibid.* fol. 82a.
2 I'jáz. ff. 20b, 24a, 26b.
3 Manáẓir. fol. 4a.
4 Nuh Sipihr, text p. 173. Compare also the celebrated rebuke of 'Alamgír to his teacher about the difficult assimilation of the Arabic language, recorded by Bernier, Travels in the Moghul Empire, Constable's O.M. London, pp. 155-61.

of Sábí, 'Utbí, and the original similes of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, are looked upon as gibberish in the Arabic language, and the Arabicised diction of Kalila-u-Damna of Naṣr-Allah (Abu'l-Ma'álí) and the elevated metaphors of Waṣṣáf, as useless and profitless productions."[1]

(ii) But this was not all that brought about a decline in the old style, and consequently contributed to the development of Indian-style. The inner changes taking place in the Persian language of India were mainly responsible not only for the change in style of prose and poetry, but for the whole of Persian speech.

In the course of time that purity of idiom, of which Khusrau boasts, was lost to the Persian language of India. 'That Persian was written as it was pronounced according to the standard of Túrán', was pronounced differently from the standard of Persian of Persia (Western-Iran) and in the case of certain words was spelled differently too. This fact is amply borne out by the earliest dictionaries compiled by Indians. For instance the 'Ádát al-Fuḍalá compiled by Qáḍí Khán Badr Muḥammad of Delhi in 822/1419, and the Sharaf-náma-i-Ibráhímí or Farhang-i-Ibráhímí, by Ibráhím Qawám Fárúqí, between A.D. 1428-1445. The last mentioned dictionary compiled to commemorate the name of Shaikh Sharaf ud-Dín Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá Munyarí[2] (d. 781/1380-81), like the preceding one gives occasionally Hindawí (Hindi) equivalents and Indian pronunciation of Persian words. This change in pronunciation and spelling becomes more distinct in the Majma'ul-Furs-i-Surúrí of Muḥammad Qásim b. Ḥájí Muḥammad of Káshán, who came to India during the reign of Sháh Jahán and died there. The spelling and pronunciation of Surúrí are those of the standard Persian of Persia, and, therefore, differ from the Túrání Persian of the Indian lexicographers mentioned above.[3] Since the dialectal peculiarities of Eastern-Persian were deposited on Indian soil with the waves of invadors and the exodus from Túrán (Transoxiana, Eastern-Khorasan and Afghanistan), they became an integral part of Indian Persian. To this inheritance was added in the course of time, the special characteristics of Indian dialects

1 Manáẓir. fol. 4a.

2 Munyar a place in Bihar is always wrongly and sometimes barbarously pronounced as Munír, (vide: Bábur-náma, Bev. tr. vol. ii, p. 666). But compare the following verses by the author of the Sharaf-náma-yi-Ibráhímí, (Mr. Mus. Ms. Add. 7,678, ff. 3a-b):

سمی نبی احمد منیری　　　که دارد بدو دین حق برتری

مغیث جہان سرور منیر است　　　که خاک در روضه اش عنبر است

3 Contributions to Persian Lexicography, H. Blochmann, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal 1868, vol. XXVII, pt. 1.

and vernaculars. Examples of the change in pronunciation are given by Khwája Jahán in his learned treatise the Manáẓr al-Inshá'.[1] H. Blochmann in his essay "Contributions to Persian Laxcicography" has collected a number of words and phrases peculiar to the *Isti'mál-i-Hind* as distinct from the *Isti'mál-i-Furs*.[2] This change in spelling, form, meaning and construction or the "*Taṣarrufát*" is one of the reasons for the development of the Sabk-i-Hindí as a distinct style from that of Persia.

(iii) Besides the Taṣarrufát, another aspect of the Indianisation of Persian was the accumulation of loan-words from the vernaculars due to the natural linguistic development of Persian in a foreign land amongst foreign people. Persian was the language of diplomacy, of literature par excellence and of polite society. But Hindi (the Hindawí of Amír Khusrau) like Persian was equally the mother tongue of Indian Muslim families of foreign extraction. Indian Muslims like Amír Khusrau, were even proud of their Hindawí tongue and spoke it more eloquently than other languages.[3] By the time of Khusrau, this common tongue had developed to the point where it was capable of being employed for literary purposes.[4]

Although to introduce Hindawí words into pure Persian was considered unpleasant, it was an unforced necessity with Khusrau, Baraní, 'Afíf and other writers, like the ṣúfís. The ready access to Hindawí for homely expressions terms and phrases was a natural process and more practicable than coining or neologism.[5] In this respect the earliest dictionaries must have helped supplying ready-made loan words. Neologism, the peculiar formation of composite words with Persian and Hindi, and enalogous expressions in Persian were equally peculiar to the munshís of the Moghul period, and reached their acme in the composition of the Hindu Munshís.

(iv) Persian became more Indianised when the Hindus took to the study of Persian, according to the common belief during the reign of Sikandar Lodhí (895-915/1489-1510). A great majority of Hindu

1 Manáẓir ff. 40b-42a.
2 JRAS. op. cit.
3 Compare Khusrau:

شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن   ترک هندوستانیم درهندوی گویم جواب

4 Nuh Sipihr text p. 178.
5 Vide Oriental College Magazine, May 1929, art.

"آٹھویں اور نویں صدی ھجری کی فارسی"

by Háfiz Maḥmúd Shírání.

Munshís, all of whom flourished during the Moghul règime, enriched the Persian language with Indian vocabulary, homely metophors and imageries drawn from the Hindu-Muslim beliefs.

(v) Indianisation of Persian was one of many aspects of social development taking place between the two divergent societies of Hindus and Muslims. The great builders of the Hindu-Muslim society were the Ṣúfís and the Bhagats, who worked it out through a synthesis of Sufism and Vedanta. It was in the field of culture that 'the separately flowing life-currents of Hindus and Muslims were brought into a confluence' that had its far reaching effect on Indian soil.

The Ṣúfís belonging to the then existing mystic orders under the Sultanate, made great contribution by bringing about a happy harmony in the various social groups. Their contribution to the social and cultural developments are equally glorious. They popularised the common tongue Hindu ; wrote ṣúfí verses with uncommon combinations of Persian and Hindi, and gave to the Persian language a mass of literature on ṣúfí doctrine. India can well boast of a number of collections of letters, called *Maktúbát,* on ṣúfí doctrine and religious topics, written by the Medieval Indian Ṣúfís, whereas Persian by that time possessed only the earliest Maktúbát of Ḥakím Saná'í, al-Ghazálí and 'Ayn al-Quḍát Abu'l-Ma'álí Miyánají.

The style of Ṣúfís is direct and devoid of rhetorical artifices. They write short sentences and employ *Saj'* more often than not. The language is filled with Arabic and Persian quotations from the religious and ṣúfí works. Analogous expressions of Hindi and Persian, include crude constructions such as "*Chatr al-Sulṭán.*"[1] The ordinary sentences seem to be a direct translation from the Hindi in which they normally thought. Such expressions consequently found their way into the Persian composition of other writers.

This Indianisation was complete when Persian succumbed to the influence of Indian customs and creeds, legends and mythology, romance and folk-lore. It was not only a change of form but a change in spirit and mood. Mysticism had captured the essentially pantheistic mind of Medieval India ; this had its deep impact on intellectual activities. A swing to mysticism stimulated the writing of ṣúfí works while at the same time causing a lack of enthusiasm for belles lettres under the Sultanate period.[2]

1 Maktúbát-i-Quddúsiya, (I.O.Ms. 1873) ff. 208a-b.

2 Compare Táríkh-i-Fírúzsháhí, Baraní, BI. (Calcutta) 1862, pp. 344-46.

(vi) One of the reasons of the decadence of Persian after the close of the 14th century was the absence of any literary centre with a nucleus of scholars and writers of great merit. The fabric of Indian society torn asunder and so was the Empire of Delhi after it received a coup was de grace at the hand of Tímúr in A.D. 1398. The space of over a century was followed by a chronic anarchy and disputed succession. Delhi stood like a silent witness of vanished dreams beholding the shadow play of Sultans coming after Sultans. Persian enjoyed the position of court language at the kingdoms of Malawa, Gujarat, Jaunpur and the Deccan, but no work of any high merit was produced although writers contributed quantitively to Persian literature. The flow of scholars from the literary centres of Persian and Transoxiana was stemmed, and scholars like Jámí, Jalál al Dín Dawání and Ṣadr al-Dín Rawásí (d.A.H. 871) could not be persuaded even by so eminent a person as Khwája Jahán Maḥmúd-i-Gáván to visit India "to light the torch of guidance and raise the spiritual level of the people."[1]

(vii) The Pathan rulers were unfavourably disposed towards Persian, and it is strange to note that most of the Afghan chiefs (or more precisely native-pathans of India) inspite of their close association with Persian, could not speak that language by the time of Ẓahír al-Dín Muḥammad Bábur.[2] This age is characterised by the progress of Hindi language and literature. Hindi was recognised as a semi-official language under the Súrs and the chancellery rescripts bore the transcription in the Devanágarí script of the Persian contents, a practice which is said to have been introduced by the Lodhís.[3] The development of Hindi had thwarted the progress of Persian language which in fact had attained that apogee after which all possibilities of progress were exhausted and decay was the next stage. Although Persian in India followed a definite tradition of the Turanian-Persian, it was Indian in spirit and in style, the Sabk-i-Hindí.

(II)

From Amír Khusrau to Abú'l-Faḍl the Persian language and style took many new turns. On the eve of the Moghul era Persian had exhausted all possibilities of further progress in quality. Bábur's short

1 Riyáḍ al-Inshá', Hyderabad Deccan, 1948, pp. 14, 19, 152.
2 Bábur-náma, Bev. tr. vol. ii, pp. 459-60.
3 Vide Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May 1933. Such documents belonging to those periods are still extant in private hands.

reign and Humáyún's chequered career could do little to add to the existing conditions of the Persian language and literature; but they are, no doubt responsible for arresting a further decay in the language. On the other hand new avenues lay open for the development of the language and literature in the succeeding periods of the Moghul Emperors. With Bábúr and Humáyún came fresh currents of words and official terminology in Persian and Turkí from linguistic springs. The Indian-Persian which had hitherto received a strong influx of vocabulary from the vernaculars grew more rich and fertile.

No wonder that Bábúr inspite of his criticism of India, succumbed to her all-pervading influences. Besides freely using a host of Hindi words in his Autobiography, there is that "Macoronic" verse with an uncommon combination of Turkí and Urdu, the first hemistich of which being in pure Urdu verb:

مجکا نه هوا کچ هوس مانگ و موتی   فقرا هلیگا بس بولغوسی پانی و روتی

' I have no desire for carol and pearls,

For faqir (poor people) water and bread is enough."[1]

The few authors who came in the wake of Bábar and Humáyún from the literary centres of Persia like, Shaykh Zayn al-Dín Khwáfí, Hakím Yúsuf of Herát and Khwándmír represent the style of the later Timurid period. The Shaikh and the Hakím like their other compatriot Sháh Táhír al-Husainí (d. A.H. 952) are highly erudite and figurative in their Inshá's. The style of the Shaikh in his *Wáqiát-i-Bábarí* and the official documents, the *Farmán* and the *Fath-náma* which he composed for the Emperor Bábar, is essentially rhetorical and pompous.[2] The long-winded quotations suggestively drawn from the Qur'án and the interminable rhyming synonyms all stand in striking contrast with the simple but uncouth style of the Indian writers of later Sultanate perior, like Baraní, 'Afíf, Yahyá b. Ahmad Sirhindí and others. Bábar who himself cultivated a naïve and downright style in his Chaghatáy Turkí and advised his son Humáyún to write his letters unaffectedly, admires the high-flown style of his Sadr al-sudúr Shaikh Zayn Khawáfí.[3] In a letter to Sayyid Muhammad Núr Bakhsh of the Núr-Bakhshí sect, the Emperor deplores the literary style of the writers of his time who according to him are the "slaves of artifices and tropes."[4] Bábar's letter in question, itself exemplifies the abstruse and inflated style of his time, and seems to be from the pen of the Shaikh.

1 JRAS-Bengal, 1913, IV-plate XVII-p. 21. Díván-i-Bábur Pádisháh edited by E. D. Ross.

2 Bábur-náma, tr. Bev. Vol, ii, pp. 553, 559.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 624-27 and p. 553.

4 Bodlien Ms. Per. D. 84, ff. 147a-b.

With Akbar we enter the most brilliant period of Persian literature. Under his enlightened patronage and policy, Persian and Hindi came closer to each other as did the Hindus and Muslims. His liberal patronage attracted a host of poets and scholars from the literary centres of Persia, who were soon influenced by the new trends developing in the Persian prose and poetry of India.[1] It is interesting to note that only a few could escape the influence of the Sabk-i-Hindí, but at the same time the foreign influence infiltrated into the standard idioms of the Persian language. One however meets frequently Hindi words and imagery drawn from the Indian milieu in the prose and poetry of these sojourners. The fresh currents of foreign idioms nevertheless could not stay the growth of the Indian style: on the other hand, as ‘Alí Qulí Salím from Persia says, "Henna does not develop its colour until it comes to India."[2]

The stock of Turkí words and terms brought in the preceding periods, had become familiar and almost naturalised by the time of Akbar. The translation of the Bábar-námá by ‘Abd al-Raḥím Khán-i-Khánán into Persian retaining a number of Turkí words untranslated proves this fact in certain respects.[3] The flow of the Turkí words was becoming stemmed and by the time of the succeeding periods there does not seem to be any new contribution of that language to the Indian-Persian. It is also noteworthy that Akbar's great interest in the ancient Persian books expressed in his causing the words of *Zand* and *Pazand* to find place for the first time in the dictionary which Mír Jamál al-Dín Ḥusain Injú compiled and later dedicated to Jahángír.[4]

It was during that splendid period of Persian art and literature that the greatest Munshí of India, Abú'l-Faḍl laid down the foundation of a new style in the Inshá', which is so far unsurpassed. A literary innovator, with a host of followers of his own, his style is unique by itself and does not stand comparison with any other munshí of any age. His predilection for the Isti‘mál-i-Hind, and his peculiar formations of phrases and novel compounds give the stamp of a new mint to his Inshá'. He turned the soil in Inshá' for the first time by cultivating a new style of his own, and fertilised a whole generation of writers and munshís.

1 Badá'úní, Muntakhab al-Tawáríkh, BI. (Calcutta), 1869. Vol. iii, pp. 170-390, also cf. Ma'áthir-i-Raḥímí, Bl. Vol. 3, ii, pp. 847-48.

2 Shi'r al-‘Ajam, Vol. iii, p. 10:

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال   تا نیامد سوی هندوستان حنا رنگین نشد

3 Compare Beveridge Turki text, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

4 Blochmann's Contribution op. cit.

Inshá'-writing attained a wide popularity under Jahángír and Sháh Jahán. The Hindus took zealously to that art and to the vocation of *munshí-garí*. They enriched the language with their own ways of thought and homely idioms. On the other hand, a new current of foreign vocabulary issued forth, but this time from overseas. The visits of the European travellers, traders and missionaries became more frequent from the time of Akbar, but the importation of foreign words appears mainly in the chancellery documents from the time of Jahángír and Sháh Jahán. The chancellery issues relating to the English trade contain not only words from that language, such as "*kiptán*" (captain); "سر" (knight): "*Angréz*" (English); "*Yórup*" (Europe), but a host of associated words from the provincial vernaculars of India, for example: *Mahájanán* (مہاجنان) *Béopárí* and *Béopáriyán* and the like.[1]

The period of Sháh Jahán is characteristic of the development of Inshá' for many reasons. The language had lost not only that purity of idiom, which in fact had become a tale of the past, but it suffered a great deal on account of the new generation of the munshís. On the one hand, a literary controversy over the current idiom was developing amongst the Iranians and Indians; on the other hand, the Indian scholars were askance at the mushroom-like growth of munshís, mostly from amongst the Hindus. The pretensions of the Iranians to literary superiority were checkmated by the Indian scholars, such as Muḥammad Ṣáliḥ Kanbúh, Mullá Shaidá of Fatḥpúr and Mauláná Munír Láhórí. The last mentioned compiled a treatise to champion the Indian cause.[2] Mirzá Jalálá Ṭabáṭabá'í Isfahání who considered himself a more elegant chronicler then Abu'l-Fadl whom he calls, "Bu'l-fudúl (idle-talker)" and a "parrot with low-voice and gloomy speach, in an iran cage,"[3] had to discontinue the composition of the Sháh Jahán-Náma owing to his rivals in the court. The work was later entrusted to 'Abd al-Ḥamíd Láhórí, who was indirectly (*bí-wásita*) a pupil of Abu'l-Fadl. In the same way as Abu'l-Fadl had profoundly derided Kháqání's poetry, Mullá Shaidá and others spoke contemptuously of Abú Ṭálib Kalím of Hamadán and Ḥájí Muḥammad Ján Qudsí of Meshhed.[4] This controversy hightened its tone during the fall of the Mughul regime, and it was in this connection that critical dictionaries were compiled by the Indian authors mostly by the Hindus.

The deplorable standard of the poets and the munshís, which set

1 Compare Br. Museum Add. 24,039, Harl. Roll 43,A.4. and Sloane 4090, ff. 25 etc.

2 Khulásat al-Inshá' (Bodlien Ms. 1416) ff. 41b-46a.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 28b.

4 Makhzan al-Ghará'ib (Bod. Ms.) ff. 206a-208a.

in foot from the time of Sháh Jahán, is best illustrated in a letter of Mauláná 'Árif Lahórí to his friend. He says, " A group of children who have not as yet opened their lips to read the *Abjad*, have not brightened (their eyes) with the blackness of writing, and who cannot distinguish *Darí* from *Pahlaví*; are blackening folios of white papers in their own book of deed (*náma-yi-a'mál*)." The Mauláná then turns to the immature old men (*pírán-i-ná-báligh*) who have as yet not reached the rank of *faṣáḥat* and *balághat*, which is the fountain-head of subtlities of the eloquent, but they are engaging themselves in imitating the classical and modern masters. They some time subsist on the victuals of Abu'l Faḍl or else go begging at the door of Sharaf al-Dín Yazdí, Ẓuhúrí and Naṣíráy Hamadání."[1]

It is a significant point about the impact of the Persian language on India, that it did not only enrich the vernaculars with a stock of loan-words from its own fountain head, but helped also in the growth of a new language, that is Urdu. The lasting impact of Persian literature on Urdu can be felt only after a study of Urdu prose and poetry. Suffice it to say that the very currents of thoughts in them issue forth from the spring of Persian literature. The ornate and rhymed prose and the euphuistic style were these chief features of Indian-Persian prose, that first of all influenced Urdu literature in the early period of its development. It found great exponents in Rajab 'Alí Bíg Surúr, Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshár and amongst the writers attached to the Fort William College.

1 Khuláṣat al-Inshá' ff. 69b-70b.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN FROM PEHLAVI

BY

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Linguistically we are assured that there was a language from which all Indo-European languages have started, but there is no certainty as to the locality in which the group of people speaking this mother language was situated. The two oldest branches of this tongue as well as the respective races which used them were, no doubt, those later known as ancient Indians and Iranians as philology and mythology as well as their religious cults prove. Moreover the first to branch off from the original home of the Indo-Europeans were the Iranians, and naturally they must have done so in the vicinity of the original stock. As language shows other emigrations followed proceeding further and further west. All these emigrations must have been forced on the original stock due to economic and climatic necessities and not to religious schisms. As nations branched off, they developed their language and religion suited to their new home and surroundings. The Indo-European language itself as well as religion must have been changing and developing in course of time and the nations branching off at long intervals of time started with new dialects and new cults. Finally, a time came when pressure from nature became unbearable to the original stock, which also, in the turn vacated the mother land by groups and at long intervals. This remnant stock was the origin of the Indians. It is pointed out that the first to come were the solar dynasty, the luner following in its wake after a long interval. The former entered India from the north and the latter from the west. This may be the origin of the idea of the great war, five *Pandava* clans which came in succession first and the two *Kauravas* which followed. These seven clans were known to their neighbours, the Iranians, as *Hapta Hendava,* the Sapta-Sindhus of the Indians.

In a like manner the Iranians had entered their plateau in groups at long intervals, possibly bringing with them different dialects which they further developed in the lands they occupied. In all probability the motherland of the Indo-Iranians was close by, in the centre of Asia, north of Iran and India. The first comers to Iran must naturally have settled in the east of that area and those who followed with differently developed languages and religious ideas had to seek accommodation in the west. Iran was thus divided linguistically and probably ethnically into two main groups. The stories of the constant struggles between the Iranians and Turanians and between the Iranians and the Daevas of Mazandaran are a pointer to this division between the east and the west,

similar to the struggle amongst the seven clans of India. The proto Indians, having established themselves in one place retained their language and customs in greater purity than the Iranians and the western Indo-Europeans. In Iran too, the language and beliefs in the east, being more ancient, were nearer to the Vedic and Sanskrit of their neighbours.

That must be the reason what the language in which the Avesta is now written and also called the Bactrian was the language of the people of the east of Persia. The Indo-Iranian deities are sung in the language of the Avesta as well as the ancient kings and heroes. Even as late as the Shahnamah, the west was ignored by the east. The old Persian, Median and Parthian or Pehlavi, later developments, ruled in the west. Old Persian was the youngest of Iranian languages, but as language follows the flag, it was displaced by Parthian and Pehlavi on the fall of the Achamenid, and the shortlived Greek rule. The old Bacterian language in which the Avesta is written died first as it started first, but a group of hereditary priests retained it chiefly for religious purposes. The Parthian and Pehlavi retained its hold for centuries, even though Persia was ruled by Persian Sasanian Kings.

As far as inscriptions and books, which exist to the present day, are concerned, the language has not altered much. We can not say the same, however, about the spoken language, which probably was current in the early Islamic rule to the end of the seventh Century A.C. as we find from Arab rulers' coins. Even under foreign domination the priestly class stuck to the Pehlavi and whatever was left of the Avestan, and wrote in Sasanian Pehlavi ; perhaps spoke also, unmindful of the change round about. Modern Persian arose in the ninth century A.C. when these books were being written and has continued with very little change, through vicisitudes for about a millenium.

I am inclined to believe that the transition from Pehlavi to Persian was not entirely due to the Arab conquest, but Pehlavi having a complicated structure, in course of time was developing, as languages usually do, among the common people, the elite sticking to their old learning. This, therefore, is not discoverable in their books. Probably the masses may have introduced some foreign elements in the speech which the learned refused to recognise.

The object of this article is to try to show that Pehlavi was being developed in Sasanian time and was making way to Persian. I admit that the material to show this is flimsy consisting of a few words only, but I believe it is convincing as well as interesting, and might be followed up by others.

Jeffery has done a great service by publishing his unique and useful work "The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an." He gives a few words

of Iranian origin in the Qur'an, the date of which is fixed at 642 A.C. It contains some words in Iranian, which had already taken form which we now see in Persian, thus showing how the Pehlavi was developing into Persian.

The Pehlavi word for " sin, crime " is *Vinās*. Persian has *gunāh;* this form must have been in use before the time of the Qur'an, which in its Arabic form gives *junāh*. Obviously the v was getting changed into *g* in similar words.

In Persian we have *astabar;* " thick, big, gross." The Qur'an gives "*istabra;*" evidently the Pehlavi *stavra* from Avesta "*stawra*" had already, perhaps long before developed the form which exists in Persian. The Arabic *q* stands for Pehlavi *K* which sign was added to words to show that the last consonant was voiced.

It is possible that the Iranian words were copied out rather than borrowed by word of mouth.

The Pehlavi word for " army " is *gūnd* and, *Vrindā*. In Qur'anic Arabic it is *jūnd*, which form is seen in Kurdish *jūnd*, " village."

Pehlavi *zreh*, " armour," Av. *Zrā'a*, in the Qur'an becomes *sard*. Possibly it was lost in Persian. Pehlavi *mūsk*, " mask," is Arabic *misk*, which shows the change from Pehlavi to Persian.

The word for religion in Pehlavi is now transcribed *dēn*, but in Arabic it is *dīn*, like Persian. It is rather curious that the same word, or we may say another similar Arabic word *dīn*, also means " to make profession of faith. Jeffery quesses this word is the Pehlavi ideogram *DENA* for *datistān*, " law " and he equates it with Elamite *dēn*. If that be so, the Qur'an has copied out the Huzvarishn form and not borrowed by word of mouth. This reminds me of the formula recited by Parsee priests when iniciating a child into Zoroastrianism "*din i Hormazd*," "*dāt i Zarthūst*." Probably *dāt*, *datistān*, which stands for the ideogram *DENA*, here means " to make profession of the (Zoroastrian) faith." Hittite *din*, " life," Av. *daēna* is translated as " conscience " perhaps erroniously, under the impression that it is derived from *di*, " to see." In some context in the Avesta, the idea of life is more suitable. In the Gathas where the *daenā* of the two mainyus is referred to the meaning of life appears to be more suited.

The Pehlavi language had been developing even in the early centuries of the Christian Era. There is reason to believe that in its written form it was using freely the semitic verbal terminations. These gradually dropped till only few were left in the inscriptions of the middle of the third century. The process was completed long before the Pehlavi books were written, probably before the century ended.



THE BUWAYHID DYNASTY OF BAGHDAD

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CHAPTER VIII

The Army

(*Continued from Indo-Iranica Vol. XII No. 4*)

The Buwayhid army consisted mainly of Daylamites and Turks. The former had already gained a reputation as fighters during the previous period. In Shawwal, 329 the Caliph al-Muttaqí appointed a Daylamite General, Gór-angíj by name, Amír al-Umará and on the next Friday people assembled in the Palace mosque complaining loudly of the Daylamites who had billeted themselves upon them without payment and had defrauded them in various transactions.[1] On al-Barídí's occupation of Baghdád in 330 his army was chiefly Daylamite[2] and the Daylamites already accounted for a considerable portion of the Caliphs' standing army though in this the Turks predominated. On the other-hand the army with which Mu'izz al-Dawlah occupied the capital, the capital, although it included some Turks, was mainly composed of the Daylamites and Gílites[3] (that is to say men from Gílán, the neighbouring Caspian province). Both the Daylamites and the Gílites were free Tribesmen,[4] whereas the Turks were mostly slaves.[5]

These tribesmen were the Buwayhid brothers' original adherents who had joined them when they were still engaged fighting the various provincial rulers with whom they came into conflict. But by the time Mu'izz al-Dawlah established himself in Ahwáz he must have bought or otherwise acquired a considerable number of Turkish slaves. For apart from the powerful Turkish element in the army with which he took Baghdád, we find him possessed, when established there, of a body of Turkish slave-retainers who formed part of his household and were consequently known as *'Ghibmán al-Dár'*.[6]

His purpose in taking more and more Turkish slaves into his service

1 M. II, 18. 2 M. II, 25.

3 M. II, 85. According to 'Awfi, f. 121b his army at the time of his first invasion of 'Iráq was 20,000 strong.

4 Though Daylamite slaves were not altogether unknown; M. II, 94 mentions some Daylamite slaves.

5 As great majority of the Turks were slaves sometimes اتراك and غلمان are used synonymously. See, M. II, 99-100.

6 غلمان الدار . M. II, 163.

was no doubt to strengthen his hand against his Daylamite troops, who were embarrassingly quarrelsome and insubordinate. The revolt of Rúzbahán amply justified Mu'izz's policy; for it was with the help of the Turkish slave-troops and particularly the 'retainers of the household' that he ultimately succeeded in defeating that captain and his partisans.[1] Henceforth his policy was therefore to promote the Turks at the expense of the Daylamites; so that for instance we find Subektekín rising to be his commander-in-chief and two other Turkish freedmen, Alptekín and Bakhtekín Ázádrúyah, rising to high positions later. These slaves were now mostly purchased in regular slave-markets[x 2] since few were any longer captured in war. We find occasional references to these slave-markets in the records and it is evident that a regular supply of Turkish slaves was now forthcoming from such cities in Transoxania as Samarqand.[3]

On the other hand besides the Daylamites there were also other tribal elements in the Buwayhid army. At least the force sent by 'Adud al-Dawlah against the Belúṣ included contingents—not only of Daylamites (and Turks) but also of Gílites, Arabs, Kurds and Zuṭṭs,[4] all of whom would appear to have been freemen recruited on a tribal basis.

Mu'izz al-Dawlah's estimate of the relative value of the two chief elements in his army is made clear by the advice on their treatment he gave to his son Bakhtiyár. This was that while conciliating both, Bakhtiyár should in particular cultivate the attachment of the Turks. Bakhtiyár, as we have seen, failed to do any such thing and eventually antagonised both alike. Under 'Adud al-Dawlah the contingents of both races were treated equally—so that neither predominated. But his successors again adopted a policy of favouring the Turks to the disadvantage of the Daylamites, till by the time of Jalál al-Dawlah we find hardly any Daylamites left in the Baghdád army, with the result, how disastrous we have seen, that the Amír possessed no means of opposing pretentions of the Turkish soldiery—who were able to do as they liked with him.

As regards the numerical strength of the Buwayhid armies and the

1 M. II, 163.

2 The Caliph's letters of appointments d. 366 contain instructions to provincial rulers to look after the slave-markets and the transactions there. (Sabi's letters, 99; 141); Mez refers to a number of slave-markets throughout the Muslim countries and the nature of slave-trade at that time. (Mez Tr. 159-161).

3 Mez, 159; In the year 330 presents to the Caliph al-Muttaqi from the Samanid ruler included Turkish slaves. (M. II, 23).

4 M. II, 300.

relative strength of the various contingents and particularly of their Daylamite and Turkish contingents we possess only sporadic figures, from which only a somewhat vague picture can be constructed. The nucleus of the Buwayhid army was, of course, Daylamite and when 'alí (Imád al-Dawlah) conquered Isfahán, it was with a Daylamite army of only 300 men,[1] who were then joined by 400 more Daylamite deserters from the opposing force.[2] In his next battle with the ruler of Fárs, he had 800 men under him.[3] These early Buwayhid exploits were therefore carried out with very modest bodies of troops. In contrast, according to 'Awfí, who however, is a very remote witness, the army of Mu'izz al-Dawlah was 20,000 strong at the time of his first invasion of 'Iráq[4] and when he took the field against Rúzbahán, whereas the Amír had with him 9,000 men, of whom 5,000 were Daylamites, 900 Turks, and 2,000 Arabs and the rest his courtiers and adherents, Rúzbahán opposed him with 15,000 Daylamites,[5] so that altogether the Buwayhid army then numbered some 24,000. The number of troops deployed jointly by Bakhtiyár and Abú Taghlib at the battle of Qaṣr al-Jiṣṣ was 25,000 including men of all sorts.[6] Unhappily we have no record of the strength of 'Aḍud's army; but we may perhaps gain some idea of the numbers commanded by Sharaf al-Dawlah on his expedition against Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah from the details recorded of certain auxiliary services. Thus his private transport camels numbered 13,000 while those of his troops were yet more numerous, and some 1,800 grooms and servants were required to look after his horses.[7] After Ṣamṣám's surrender when Sharaf al-Dawlah arrived in Baghdád his army included 19,000 Daylamites and 3,000 Turks. But among these were some that had previously fought for Ṣamṣám.[8]

As regards the various grades of officers by which the troops were commanded it is clear that the 'Abbásid system was followed with but slight modification. As regards that system al-Mas'údí reports that every ten men were commanded by an '*'Árif*' and every hundred by a '*Naqíb*' while over ten Naqíbs that is over every contingent of a thousand men, there was placed a *'Qá'id'*[9] and even this nomenclature was evidently preserved since we find references to all these grades during the Buwayhid period though without any specific mention of the numbers such officers then commanded. On the other hand under

1 M. I, 279.
2 M. I, 297.
3 M. I, 296.
4 'Awfí, f. 121b.
5 'Awfí, f. 192b.
6 M. II, 380.
7 S., 128.
8 S., 132.
9 Mas. Murúj VI, 452. During the civil war between Amín and Ma'mún the 'Urát or the naked citizen fighters arrayed themselves according to this gradation, that being the 'Abbásid army regulation.

the Buwayhids next above Qá'ids instead of the 'Abbásid *'Amír'* we find officers called *'Ḥájib'*.[1]

As the Amír al-Umará himself was the commander-in-chief[2] normally there was no other supreme head of the army. This traditional position of the Amír acted as a safeguard against the acquisition of too much power on the part of individual army leaders, as did further the Wazír's prerogative of also leading the army on occasion and the appointment of other civil officers to lead particular expeditions. Generally therefore it was the Amír himself or his Wazír or some accredited officer who usually commanded in the field. Nevertheless policy occasionally required the appointment of some general as commander-in-chief. The general in question was then usually styled *Ḥájib al-Ḥujjáb*, but sometimes *al-Ḥájib al-Kabír* or simply Ḥájib, though the terms *Ṣáḥib al-Jaysh* and *Ra'ís al-Jaysh* were not altogether unknown.[3] The Daylamite title *Ispahsalár* was also regarded as one of particular honour and Bakhtiyár twice offered it to his Turkish commander-in-chief.[4]

As 'Aḍud al-Dawlah was the real master of his army, under him no army chief could aim at the supreme command. On the contrary 'Adud carefully watched the growth of power on the part of his generals and took precautions to curb them before it went too far. Thus he arrested and deported Górgír b. Jastán after the latter's conquest of Kirmán on his behalf[5] and shortly before his death arrested another general Abú'l-wafá who had helped him in subjugating Jazírah.[6] To obviate quarrels between his Turkish and Daylamite forces 'Aḍud placed each of these two sections under a marshal of its own, who was directly

1 M. II, 173, (فقود جماعة و استحجب جماعة و نقب جماعة) 236,345 also Sabi's letters 266, (حجاب قواد نقباء' غلمان) .

2 On his appointment as Amír al-Umará Ibn Ráiq was invested with, among other things, the chief command of the army. M. I, 351.

3 (a) M. II, 234 refers to Subektekín as Ṣáḥib al-Jaysh but in all other places as Ḥájib, see M. II, 263, 281.
(b) Bakhtiyár decided in 363 to make Bakhttekin Azádrúyah chief of the army with the title 'Ḥájib al-Hujjáb', M. II, 329.
(c) Mu'izz al-Dawlah appointed his departmental head Ibn Fasánjas Ra'is al-Jaysh on the eve of the expedition to 'Uman but this refers to the headship of the particular expedition. (M. II, 47).

4 (a) Bakhtiyár conciliated Subektekin by giving him that title. (M. II, 293).
(b) Later after the death of Subektekín he offered the headship of the army with that title to Alptekin. Sábi's letters, 265-6.

5 M. II, 301.

6 F. n. of Abú Shujá', p. 10, on the authority of Takmilah.

responsible to him for its affairs.[1] Nevertheless, the administration of the army continued to be conducted by a single Díwán which was under his direct supervision, and he declined to tolerate the slightest interference with its normal working even by the most influential army officers.[2] By such devices 'Adud al-Dawlah contrived to keep the army firmly in hand, while to please the rank and file he would appear before them on ceremonial occasions.[3]

Under 'Adud's successors the situation, as we have seen, deteriorated and in the civil war that then broke out between his sons it again became usual for each to confide the supreme command to a general. Thus both Sharaf al-Dawlah and Samṣám al-Dawlah called their chief army commanders Ispahsalárs.[4] Bahá al-Dawlah, while not resident in the capital seems to have followed his father's practice in leaving the Turks and the Daylamites stationed at Baghdád under the command of their respective marshals.[5] But in the confusion of the civil war which continued for about ten years the army organization, particularly in Baghdád, fell again into disorder and it was not until 392 when 'Amíd al-Juyúsh was appointed governor of Baghdád that it was more thoroughly restored on a sound basis. 'Amíd al-Juyúsh developed 'Adud's system of separating the two elements of the army still further by creating two separate Díwáns to deal with their respective affairs, a single inspector (Musharif) supervising the army díwán as a whole. He also carried out a revision of rolls, classifying the troops (as they had not been classified before) and removing those unfit for service.[6]

During the three troubled reigns that followed the affairs of the army grew more and more chaotic. As we have mentioned, the complete elimination of the Daylamites left the Turkish element all-powerful, so that under Jalál al-Dawlah Ḥájib al-Ḥujjáb Bársṭughán was actually able to usurp power for some ten weeks, obliging the 'Amír himself to leave the capital.[7] The power of the Turkish soldiery

1 One Abú Abdu'lláh b. Sa'dán was the marshal of the Turks together with Arabs and Kurds while 'Alí b. 'Umára was the Marshal of the Daylamites. (S., 40).

2 S., 46-47.

3 S., 41-42.

4 After conquering Fárs Sharaf al-Dawlah released Górgír b. Jastán from prison and gave him the title of Ispahsalár. (S., 81). When Samṣám al-Dawlah succeeded in foiling the military plot with the help of Fúlád b. Mánádhar, he designated the latter 'Ispahsalár' (S., 107).

5 In 381 the Turks and the Daylamites revolted complaining against their marshals. (S., 187).

6 H., 442-443.

7 See above, Chapter IV, Section(b).

became even greater as time went on and the once coveted title of Ispahshalár came to be borne by ordinary commanders. Indeed Ispahsalár came now to signify simply officer, and Ispahsaláriyya was used collectively to denote officers as distinct from the rank and file.[1]

Whereas the higher officers and especially the commander-in-chief were always remunerated by means of fiefs,[2] ordinarily the rank and file of the troops were paid in cash, though these sometimes also received fiefs in addition. The practice of remuneration by fief became particularly common during the period of decline. But right at the beginning of the Buwayhid period Mu'izz al-Dawlah introduced a not dissimilar system by assigning his Turkish soldiery certain areas from the revenues of which their pay was to be derived. Thus after the revolt of Rúzbahán he sent successive contingents of his Turkish soldiery to Wásit, Baṣrah and Khúzistán with instructions to obtain their pay for themselves and their comrades out of the yields of the local taxes. Each ordinary soldier was to have a daily allowance of 10 dirhams and each Naqib 20 dirhams until they had collected all their dues.[3] But these troops then settled down in those regions without bothering as long as they continued receiving the allowances to collect their arrears. On account of these arrangements in 348 no revenues could be otherwise collected from the whole area between Wásiṭ and Ahwáz and Baṣrah.[4] Nevertheless, the same policy was followed by Bakhtiyár's Wazír Abú'l-Fadl. The Turkish commander Bakhttekín became revenue-farmer of Ahwáz and Wásiṭ and the revenues of these regions were spent wholly on the Turks and their entertainment.[5]

Under 'Adud al-Dawlah on the other hand the revenues increased so far that he could afford to pay his troops regularly in cash. He accordingly increased the number of the clerks in the Díwán of the Army in order to expedite the necessary disbursement. Every day a drum was beaten at the pay office and those officers to whom it applied presented

1 To give a few examples, I. J. VIII, 72, القواد والا صفهسلارية ; MU. MS., f. 75a, The Turks fighting والا كا بد والا سفهسلارية ; MU. MS. f. 95b, و ارسل الى الا سفهسلارية و جميع العساكر ; *Ibid,* f. 97a. و اخذ حاجب الجاب البيعة على الملك والا سفهسلارية والا تراك و غيرهم

2 See above, Bakhtiyár banished the Daylamite chieftains for their fiefs and Chapter II, Bakhtiyár confiscated fiefs of Subektekin his chief army commander.

3 M. II, 173-174.

4 M. II, 175-176.

5 M. II, 269, 293, 297.

themselves with their followers in perfect order.[1] He was particularly insistent on punctuality in the payment of his armies, once taking into task his treasurer Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah with great severity for a slight delay in transmission of the money to some troops stationed at al-Qaṣr.[2] By these means 'Aḍud al-Dawlah succeeded in preventing mutinies on the part of the troops and all clamorous demands for extra money.

On 'Aḍud's death the eastern part of his empire—Ahwáz, Fárs and Kirmán were detached from the central government and frequently changed hands between various Buwayhid princes. And during this period these regions became more and more strongholds of the Daylamites whose services were utilised by the princes in power in their resistance to the Baghdád government, and the most usual means of remunerating them was by the grant of fiefs. Thus on the eve of the accession of Bahá al-Dawlah the Daylamites of Khúsistán were in receipt of fiefs worth ten times as much as those of the Daylamites serving under Fakhr al-Dawlah ;[3] while still later under Ṣamṣám further lands were alienated in Ahwaz and Fárs by indiscriminate assignation of fiefs to the Daylamites,[4] so that when these regions together with Kirmán were reclaimed for Bahá al-Dawlah, the latter's Wazír al-Muwaffaq carried on a redistribution of fiefs among both the Turks and the Daylamites in these provinces. In Fárs a standard sum was fixed and all the fiefs yielding revenue in excess of that amount were confiscated by the state, though the more powerful Daylamite officers, by a judicious use of bribes, prevented the Wazír from interfering with their own holdings.[5] In Kirmán the Daylamites had acquired even larger fiefs though they had been at the same time in receipt of handsome monthly allowances amounting to as much as five hundred thousand dirhams annually. Here, however, al-Muwaffaq not only reclaimed all fiefs for the state but also curtailed the original allowances.[6]

In Baghdád and the rest of 'Iráq ordinary soldiers had by now come to receive both pay and fiefs. But the army reforms undertaken by 'Amíd al-Juyúsh after his appointment as governor there were directed towards the reduction of allowances on the one hand and on the other confirmation of fiefs only instead of money payments, so that claims for both money and fiefs could no more be entertained. He reduced the allowances payable to all categories of soldiers in 'Iráq to 7,000 dínárs

1 S., 43.
2 S., 45.
3 S., 165-166. The Daylamite officers of Khúzistán possessed fiefs worth two hundred to three hundred thousand dirhams while those of Fakhr al-Dawlah had fiefs worth only twenty to thirty thousand dirhams.
4 S., 247.
5 S., 327-328.
6 S., 362.

once every 35 days (and that was the allowance for one day under al-Mu'tadid).[1] Whenever a fief fell vacant for some reason he reallotted it only against the relinquishment of an allowance. He assigned many fiefs on this principle but was unable to carry out his reforms as far as he wished owing to the rivalry of a general, Abú Ja'far al-Ḥajjáj, who rebelled and created all manner of troubles for him.[2]

Still later during the period of decline the territories of the Buwayhids of Baghdád were confined to no more than the capital and its environs; and rulers like Musharrif al-Dawlah, Jalál al-Dawlah and al-Malik al-Rahím were constantly faced with what was in the circumstances the practically insoluble problem of paying their soldiery. The reign of Jalál al-Dawlah, in particular, was one of a series of revolts for money on the part of his Turkish soldiery. Cash being hard to come by and their regular payment becoming more and more difficult they had to be satisfied as far as possible with fiefs, but even so, they never left the Amírs in peace and the more fiefs that were granted the smaller grew the Amír's revenues. There are various references to the grant of fiefs to the Turks at this time (for the Daylamites were by now completely non-existent). Under the year 422 Ibn al-Jawzí records that Jalál was only in possession of the capital with the right of the Khuṭbah in some neighbouring places such as Wásiṭ and the Baṭíḥah whereas the surroundings of Baghdád were actually in the hands of the Turkish fief-holders.[3] After the defeat of Bársṭughán when for a time the power of the Turks was greatly reduced the Arabs interfered with their fiefs (428).[4] Finally when Ṭughril Beg came to Baghdád in 447 he abolished all the fiefs of al-Malik al-Rahím's army, ordering their holders to find other means of livelihood.[5]

Besides their usual pay whether received in cash or charged on revenues or derived from fiefs, the soldiers were in the habit of demanding gratuities on the accession of both Caliphs and Amírs. Thus Bakhtiyár had to pay to his Daylamites one-third of their usual pay as an accession gratuity (Rasm al-Bay'ah)[6] and so also did Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah[7] while Bahá al-Dawlah being short of funds, had to promise to melt down and coin his gold and silver plate for the purpose.[8] On the accession of the Caliph al-Qádir, the Daylamites and the Turks both mutinied, demanding accession money and preventing the personal name of the Caliph from being mentioned in the Khuṭbah until it was paid.

1 Kremer (II), 65.
2 H., 443.
3 I. J. VIII, 60.
4 Ath. IX, 309.
5 Ath. IX, 421.
6 M. II, 236.
7 S., 84.
8 S., 84.

However, Bahá al-Dawlah negotiated a settlement with the army leaders whereby each soldier was paid 800 dirhams and on the following Friday the Caliph was duly proclaimed from the pulpits.[1] On the accession of al-Qá'im, al-Qádir's son and successor, again, both the Amír and the Caliph had to pay up. Jalál al-Dawlah the then Amír paid the troops what they demanded from him and since the late Caliph had left no money, in order to raise three million dirhams required as his share, al-Qá'im had to sell a house, a garden and some furniture.[2]

As regards the functions performed by the two chief sections of the Buwayhid armies, whereas the Daylamites were infantry, the Turks were cavalry. The former therefore preferred to fight in confined spaces such as gardens and forests, while the Turks favoured the open field, where they could manouvre their horses to effect.[3] Their principal weapons were usually bows and arrows, swords, spears and clubs,[4] while for bodily defence shields and coats of mail were used.[5]Against walled fortresses a kind of siege machine known as *Manjaníq* was in use, from which stone missiles and 'Naptha' were hurled. Both the besiegers and the besieged made use of these machines as we learn from a description of the way in which Abú'l-Wafá, one of the commanders of 'Adud al-Dawlah, was bombarded with missiles from inside the walled city of Mayyáfáriqín when he replied with fire from his own Manjaníqs.[6] But in such a case it seems the besieger was always at a disadvantage and

1 S., 202-203; I. J. VII, 157. 2 I. J. VIII, 59.

3 (i) In Bakhtiyár's fight against his revolting Turkish soldiers, he took up his quarters along with his Daylamites amid palm groves, where there was no space for the Turks to manoeuvre. (M. I, 332).
(ii) Alptekín, leader of the Turks chose the open plain between the Diyálá and Madá'in as the battlefield for the Turks who could move there freely with their horses. (M. II, 339).
(iii) On Sharaf al-Dawlah's entry into Baghdád the Daylamites vehemently attacked the Turks but while pursuing them they themselves became confused and the Turks finding a space where they could move freely charged them in the front and in the rear. (S., 133).

4 (i) M. II, 305; In response to Subektekín's call for the Holy War people appeared with swords, spears and bows.
(ii) The Turks belaboured Hamdán, son of Násir al-Dawlah with their clubs. (M. II, 391).
(iii) Injutekín, a Turk was able to weild a club too heavy for any one else and when he did so none could stand against him. (M. II, 391).

5 The Daylamites had weak armour (M. II, 336): The heavy coat of mail could at times be a great disadvantage, Hamdán, son of Násir al-Dawlah failed to change from one horse to another because of a heavy armour of iron. (M. II, 336).

6 M. II, 388.

the besieged garrison could hold out for a long time if they had enough provisions and the morals of the people inside was maintained. Thus 'Adud al-Dawla's conquest of the fortresses of Abú Taghlib was mainly effected through the complicity of some inhabitants inside the fortresses and their voluntary opening of the gates.[1] On the other hand Naptha was used from Manjaníqs with great effect. Al-Basásírí used Manjaníqs in 446 against 'Ambar, the fortified town of Quraysh ibn Badrán and was successful in destroying a tower and burning many of the weapons prepared by the inhabitants against him, so that he was able to force an entry into the fortress.[2]

Naptha was also used in ordinary field operations but it was a dangerous weapon, since with a change of wind the throwers themselves might be injured.[3] As regards the different kinds of boats used for naval or river battles these appear to have been the same as those used for ordinary purposes, namely Ṭayyárs, Zabzabs, Shadhá'ás, Ḥudaydiyyas, Ḥarráqas, Sumariyyas and Zauraqs, etc.[4]

It was Daylamite practice to place the cavalry in front of the infantry, sometimes with disastrous results;[5] and also to pitch a tent on the battle field, which so long as it remained erect acted as a sign that the battle was going well whereas its being struck was the sign of a rout. Mu'izz al-Dawlah in his battle against the Amír Túzún tried to

1 M. II, 388-390; for surrender of Mayyáfáriqín; M. II, 390-1, for surrender of Amid; M. II, 392-395 for surrender of the fortresses on the eastern side of the Euphrates.

2 Ath. IX, 315.

3 Yáqút the ruler of Fárs engaged some of his infantry to fight with instruments for throwing naptha and fire but the change of wind caused the flame to reach Yáqút's line. (M. I, 282).

4 For boats of ordinary use in al-Mu'tadid's time see Kremer (II), 70; for our period see Abú'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdí, 107. Below are given a few instances of their use for war.

(i) With 50 Zabzabs Mu'izz al-Dawlah's Turks fought on the Tigris with the followers of Náṣir al-Dawlah, who were on their Zabzabs. (M. II, 92).

(ii) Náṣir al-Dawlah's sons burnt the Zabzabs and Zawraqs which belonged to Mu'izz's army (M. II, 205).

(iii) Mu'izz ordered the construction of Shadhá'ás for his 'Umán expedition and his army started with one hundred of such boats. (M. II, 217-218).

(iv) Bakhtiyár's Wazír Abú'l-Faḍl used Hudaydiyyas against Habashí, Bakhtiyár's rebel brother. (M. II, 243).

(v) Baha al-Dawlah's expedition against Fakhr al-Dawlah was followed by Zabzabs and Sumariyyas. (S., 168).

(vi) Jalál al-Dawlah's Wazír Ibn Makúlá fought a splendid naval battle in Baṣrah, which involved 1300 boats on his side and 800 on the side of his rival. (Ath. IX, 287-288).

5 M. II, 368; 382.

pitch a tent in this Daylamite fashion but before he could do so his Daylamites began retreating.[1] The Daylamites had another custom of fighting with peculiar ferocity just before surrender.[2] There seems to have been little to choose between the fighting capacity of the Turks and the Daylamites. The trouble was that they could never for long agree. With troops so insubordinate all the Buwayhid Amírs would have been wise to follow the policy of 'Aḍud in maintaining troops of both races, so that neither could dominate their government. The great mistake of the later Amírs was their complete elimination of the Daylamites, which resulted in their own complete domination by the Turks.

CHAPTER IX

Outline of the financial Administration

(a) *The Buwayhid finances in brief—the financial problem under different rulers.*

Under the early 'Abbásids revenues were usually derived from the two areas, namely the area directly administered by the central government such as 'Iráq on the one hand and the provinces ruled by governors appointed by the Caliph on the other. In both these areas revenues were collected by state revenue officials ('Ummál). But later when the more distant provinces came gradually to evade payment a system of taxfarming was introduced. This was known as *damánah* (ضمانة). The outlying provinces according to this system were given to either private individuals or government officers, civil or military who assumed responsibility for collection and in return assured a stipulated sum to the state-treasury. This system, by the time of the Buwayhids, was generally in force not only in the provinces relatively distant from the capital but also in some parts of 'Iráq itself. It was only Sawád that remained in the hands of the central government. The revenue-farmers had also tended to evade their obligations usurping the whole tax-yield of the provinces for themselves. The Caliph al-Rádi's appointment of Ibn Rá'iq as Amír al-Umará in 324 was caused mainly by the total cessation of payments from the revenue-farmers. Thus the Barídí family of Baṣrah on the eve of the Buwayhid occupation of Baghdád virtually declared their independence and refused payment to the central government. On the failure of the system of *Damánah* the Caliphs were obliged to try other expedients to satisfy the army and there thus originated the system of granting military fiefs for the first time as early as under al-Muqtadir who had to grant fiefs not only to the officers but also to the rank and file of the army.[1]

This process greatly reduced the state income and Baghdád came to depend more and more on irregular sources of revenue. Thus Abú Ja'far ibn Shírzád, whom Mu'izz al-Dawlah succeeded as Amír al-Umará, had to depend on wholesale extortion to raise funds wherewith to pay the soldiery and run the administration. The result was that many merchants fled from Baghdád and Ibn Shírzád's rule became highly unpopular.[2]

1 Kr. (II), 17.
2 M. II, 183.

It was accordingly at a time of great financial stress that Mu'izz al-Dawlah came to Baghdád. He was already in possession of Ahwáz, to which he now added 'Iráq, but his authority at the beginning was confined to Sawád and Sawád at that time was in a highly disturned state. Compared to Mu'izz al-Dawlah's assets his liabilities were enormous. Apart from the existing civil government including the various departments, he had a vast number of troops to maintain,[1] moreover the siege of Baghdád by Náṣir al-Dawlah immediately after his entry into Baghdád further reduced his resources. For cultivation suffered on both sides of the Tigris, these areas being occupied by the rival armies, who repeatedly pillaged them. The plundering habits of his Daylamites were also ruinous to the city itself. For on their victory they are said to have plundered the commercial quarters to the extent of 10 million dínárs (the equivalent of 200 million dirhams—whereas later under Bakhtiyár the total revenue in his best financial year amounted only to 72 million). Moreover a great famine then ensued and large numbers of people died of starvation.[2] It is against this background that we should study Mu'izz's problems and his attempts at their solution.

Immediately after the retirement of Náṣir al-Dawlah the Daylamites, not withstanding the fact that they had so recently gained enormously by plunder, mutinied violently on account of a delay in the payment of their dues. Mu'izz was therefore obliged to oppress the citizens and extort money improperly to satisfy the rank and file, while to please the higher officers of the Daylamites, his household and his favourite Turks he assigned to them as fiefs certain estates belonging to the Caliph and others belonging to persons who had abandoned them as well as various revenue-yielding lands in Sawád,[3] with the result that most of Sawád were removed from the purview of the revenue-officials.[4]

The immediate purpose of the assignation of those fiefs was to satisfy the army leaders but in return for it they contracted to pay into the treasury definite annual some so that this system of *iqṭá'* was actually an alternate arrangement of revenue-farming under a new name.

1 According to 'Awfí his army on the eve of his first invasion of Iraq was 20,000 strong. See above. Chapter VIII.

2 M. II, 91, 94, 95.

3 Sawád, while formerly constituted the total of Iraq's revenue-yielding territories (Kr. I, 4 ; Kr. (II), 26-7), under Mu'izz and Bakhtiyár Baṣra and Wasiṭ were excluded from it. But under 'Aḍud the former connotation was again in use. (Muq. 133).

4 M. II, 96.

But as the areas in question were long disturbed, they were assigned at very reduced rates so that even where cultivation was restored the profit went into the pocket of the assignees. On the other hand those assignees who could not gain enough from their fiefs went on exchanging them for better ones and in the process the actual return from these lands to the state-treasury was next to nothing. Moreover as profit-making was the only concern of the assignees, to whom improvement of agriculture was a matter of indifference, cultivation was far from prospering under their control.[1]

So much for Sawád. Mu'izz in due course after the final defeat of the Barídís succeeded in recovering both Wásiṭ and Baṣrah. The Baṣra area he at first farmed out; but as the farmers failed to fulfil their contracts, he later decided to try administering it centrally for a time, sending the Wazír Muhallabí to settle terms direct with the cultivators. Muhallabí, after hearing a number of complaints about the unjust taxation imposed by the Barídís declared these lands to be *'Ushrí* (tithe-paying) as before, though he persuaded the peasants to make an immediate payment of 200,000 dirhams towards the clearance of their arrears according to the unjust system.[2]

The landtaxes of Ahwáz were also farmed out and there too Muhallabí by his personal supervision succeeded not only in collecting the arrears but also in obtaining increases on the original contracts.[3] He was less successful, however, in Wásiṭ, the revenue-farmer of which failed to pay anything. This annoyed Mu'izz al-Dawlah who put Muhallabí under arrest for this failure and had him beaten;[4] but when the Wazir submitted a memorandum showing arrears of 13 million dirhams still to be collected from various provinces he thought it prudent to release him since he was the only official capable of solving the problem.[5]

Since income from both the area directly administered and the lands either farmed out or granted in fief tended steadily to diminish Mu'izz tried yet another and still more uncertain expedient namely the enforcing of payment from certain unwilling tributaries at the point of the sword. It was with this end in view that he fought the Ḥamdánids and the ruler of Baṭíḥah. But he faled to gain any benefit from either of these campaigns. He even sent an envoy to Káfúr, the def acto ruler

1 M II, 97-98.
2 M. II, 127-129.
3 M. II, 125.
4 See above, 244.
5 M. II, 145.

of Egypt demanding tribute, but received only a flat refusal his envoy being harshly treated and finally driven off.[1]

Another expedient adopted by Mu'izz to obtain funds was the sale against annual payments of some of the highest offices of state, such as those of Qádí al-qudát, the prefect of police and the Muhtasib.[2] This at least yielded something unlike what was perhaps the most unfortunate of all Mu'izz al-Dawlah's financial experiments namely his assignment of all the revenue of Ahwáz, Wásit and Basrah as pay for the Turkish soldiery. For it resulted in the year 348 in the complete stoppage of all revenue payments from these areas.[3]

In spite of his virtual bankruptcy Mu'izz in 350 elected to build a palace for himself in the Shammásiyyah quarter of Baghdád which cost him 13 million dirhams. To obtain this, however, he fined a number of officials.[4] For needless to say such was his financial embarrassment throughout his reign that Mu'izz had no such sum at his command from ordinary sources. His relative penury was seen at his death, when he left his son Bakhtiyár a sum of not more than 400,000 dínárs.[5]

Bakhtiyár in his turn had of course to grapple with the same economic difficulties without any comparable personality and initiative. At the beginning of his reign the Wazír Abú'l-Fadl managed the finances successfully for a time. For example the proceeds of the revenue of the year 358 from Sawád, Wásit and Basrah, and Ahwáz amounted to 72,000,000 dirhams.[6] But, as we have seen, the rivalry between Abú'l-Fadl and Ibn Fasánjas and the influence exercised over Bakhtiyár, in turn, by unscrupulous persons such as Shírzád ibn Surkháb, Abú Qarrah and Ibn Baqiyyah all of whom embezzled the government money on a large scale ultimately left Bakhtiyár far worse off than his father.

It was only under 'Adud al-Dawlah that the financial administration was satisfactorily reorganized. Starting from Fárs and Kirmán, which formed the nucleus of his empire, 'Adud became master of a realm far greater in extent than those of all his Muslim contemporaries. His revenues from Fárs, Kirmán, 'Umán including the customs dues of the ports of Síráf and Mahrúbán are recorded by Ibn al-Balkhí as having

1 M. II, 172.
2 M. II, 189.
3 See above, 169.
4 M. II, 184-185.
5 M. II, 238.
6 I. H., 157, 162, 163, 169. He mentions Abú'l-Fadl as revenue-farmer of these regions but actually he was a Wazír.

amounted to 3,346,800 dínárs (equivalent to 66,920,000 dirhams).[1] In 'Iráq 'Aḍud al-Dawlah reclaimed all lands held by tax-farmers and fief holders[2] and administered them directly through the government officials. He increased the state-demand on the *Misáḥah* kind of tenure (which we are going to discuss shortl)y by one-tenth,[3] and the revenues thus raised brought in a total of 99,238.000 dirhams—a figure only a little less than that of the revenues from 'Iráq in the time of Hárún al-Rashíd.[4]

Over other provinces which were later added to his empire 'Aḍud appointed either generals or trustworthy favourites as governors directly responsible to him. So great was 'Aḍud's concern for the settlement of the revenues that the first thing he did after every conquest was to reorganise the provincial díwáns, appoint 'Ummal (government tax-collectors) and assess and fix the revenues.[5] Over Jazírah 'Aḍud appointed his general Abú'l-Wafá Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad, who had helped him in subjugating that region. The revenues of Jazirah under the Ḥamdánids were large and though exact figures are not available they can be calculated approximately from the fragmentary account of Ibn Ḥawqal as 21,930,000 dirhams.[6] Though no revenue figures for Jazírah are given in al-Muqaddasí's account presumably 'Aḍud as successor to the Ḥamdánids also received revenues of comparable amount. Besides 'Aḍud had a special liking for Jazírah so that in reply to Abú Taghlib's peace proposals he is said to have remarked that in fact he preferred Jazírah to 'Iráq.[7] Immediately after his conquest of the province 'Aḍud found in the fortress of Ardumusht alone valuables worth 20 million dirhams.[8]

From Ahwáz 'Aḍud revieved a revenue of 30 million[9]—the same as that forthcoming under Bakhtiyár. After his victory over the sons of Ḥasanawayh, the Kurd and their ally Fakhr al-Dawlah, he annexed Dínawar and Qirmisín to the province of 'Iráq and handed over Ḥamádan and Niháwand to his brother Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah, only on payment of a fixed annual revenue.[10]

1 Fársnámah, 171.

2 It did not, however, prevent him from granting large fiefs to his favourites though he was able to enforce on them the obligations to the state and the peasantry alike. (S. 47).

3 S., 71, M. Kh. 30.

4 It was over one hundred million besides things in kind Kr. (I.), 4; Mez is wrong in generalising, from a casual remark of 'Aḍud quoted by Muqaddasi, elsewhere. (See Mez, Tr. p. 129).

5 M. II, 395; S., 10, 11. For his early experiments in revenue administration on his first conquest of 'Iráq see M. II, 346-347.

6 See chart. Comparing the Abbasid revenues with there of the Buwayhids at the end of the Chapter.

7 M. II, 384.

8 M. II, 393.

9 Muq., 418.

10 S., 10, 11.

In addition to this vast area directly administered 'Aḍud received the allegiance of many independent or semi-independent frontier chieftains, whose occasional presents or irregular payments of tribute formed an additional source of income for him. Sa'd al-Dawlah, the son and successor of Sayf al-Dawlah in Ḥalab, Ibn Bánú, the ruler of Sijistán, the ruler of Manṣúrah (Sind), and the ruler of Yaman were all included in this category. Moreover as well as exacting all the normal taxes to the full 'Aḍud introduced several new ones in order further to increase his income. It is no wonder therefore that his revenue receipts reached a total of 360,000,000 dirhams annually[1]—a figure higher than that of al-Muqtadir,[2]—in spite of the fact that Egypt, Syria and other outlying parts of the empire had in the meantime been detached from the Caliphate.

After the death of 'Aḍud al Dawlah his empire tended to break up and the ruling family of Baghdád was at times left with hardly more than the territories in the immediate neighbourhood of Baghdád. Though under Bahá al-Dawlah and later under Abú Kálíjár Fárs and 'Iraq were for a time temporarily united, the dynasty lost its direct hold on all the outlying territories on account of the rise of several independent dynasties, with the result that 'Aḍud's successors could never attain financial solvency. Having thus depicted in outline the financial position of the various rulers of the dynasty we will now proceed to discuss the different items of revenues under the Buwayhids.

(b) *Sources of Revenue.*

The principal item of taxation under the Buwayhids was still the land tax of the various kinds. Some areas of 'Iráq were *'Ushrí* (that is to say tithe-paying) lands, that of Baṣrah being one. But under the Barídís a system of fixed money payments was introduced instead and these were extremely heavy. They began by levying 20 dirhams per *Jaríb*;[3] then later when some of the land was abandoned by cultivators and the taxable area was accordingly reduced they levied as much as 40. Muhallabí, Mu'izz al-Dawlah's Wazír, in contrast revived the old system of collecting tithes on the crops though, as we have mentioned, he persuaded the land-owners to pay a sum of two hundred thousand dirhams immediately to write off the arrears to which they had fallen under the other system.[4] As for 'Aḍud under him no distinction seems to have been made between *'Ushrí* or other lands.

1 I. J. VIII, 16.

2 Kr. II, 38 al-Muqtadir's revenue in 306 being 14,501,904 dínárs equivalent to 290,030,080 dirhams.

3 I jarib is equivalent to 3600 Sq ells, Khwárizmí, Mafátiḥ, 66.

4 M. II, 128-129.

As for lands other than *'Ushrí* a distinction had been drawn between small land-holdings and larger estates as early as the time of al-Muqtadir and this was maintained during our period. Thus a decree of al-Ṭá'i' mentions among other sources of revenue "al-Kharáj " on the one hand and " al-Ḍiyá' " on the other, the former presumably referring to revenues from small land holdings, and the latter to those from large estates which, it seems almost certain, were more lightly taxed.[1] But this leads us to the question of the various types of land-tenure in use.

There existed, as we know both from the works of the geographers and from law books, three major types of land-tenure in the Buwayhid empire, or at any rate in Fárs. Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal refer to these three systems as in force only in Fárs, but the evidence of al-Máwardí and Abú Ya'lá suggests that they were in fact characteristic of the empire. These three systems were known as *Muqáṭa'ah, Misáḥah* and *Muqásamah.*[2] The precise significance of these terms, however, has given rise to some controversy. According to a modern writer who has attempted to reconcile all the classical and modern views on these points, *Muqáṭa'ah* was a type of tenure on which only large areas, from whole provinces down to these estates called ḍiyá', were held--that is to say it was applicable only to land owners or their like. The revenues derivable from these lands were determined on the principle called 'Ibrah, *i.e.* " Sample ;" they paid the mean yield between their most and their least productive years, calculated on the entire area on the basis of actual measurement whether cultivated or not and by the lunar not the solar year.[3]

The Misáḥah (" measurement ") system was of two kinds, one strongly resembling the Muqáṭa'ah, but applicable to the peasantry at a lower level,[4] and the other which was by far the commoner and indeed the predominant kind of tenure. differing from it is that only the land actually cultivated was taxed, due per jaríb and then according to the crop grown. This second kind of Misáḥah was also restricted to the peasantry,[5] as was the third main type, the Muqásamah (" division "). The latter was a tenure on which the holder delivered to the collector a tithe of the crop or crops actually grown (a fourth a third or even a half) or its equivalent in cash or part in kind part in cash—collection

1 Kr. II, 12-13; Sábí's letters, 99, 127.
2 Ist, 157; I. H., 216; Maw. 260; Abú Ya'lá, 152.
3 Lokkeggard, 107, 108, 115; I. H., 216; Maw. 260.
4 Lokke., 109; Mawardi, 260.
5 Lokke., 109; Ist. 157; I. H., 216-217.

being effected at the time of threshing.[1] Since both the second kind of Misáḥah and the Muqásamah tenures were closely related to the actual crops grown in any one year, the revenues due from the holders were exacted by the solar, not the lunar year.

The next most important of the canonical taxes was the *Jizyah* also known as the *Jawálí*. A Caliphal decree dated 366[2] ordered the collectors of Jizyah to observe the canonical rules in the collection of this tax, namely to take from the sane, adult, male Dhimmís their poll-tax according to their capacity, women, children, invalid, old, poor, priests and ascetics excepted. This item of revenue seems to have been reserved for the Caliph and collected by his own 'Ámils, in spite of the change in the nature of the sovereignty of the state. It was collected every Muḥarram of the lunar year. During the revolt of the Turks in 425 they began themselves to collect the Jawálí from the Dhimmis[3] and in the year 434 Jalál al-Dawlah again prevented the Caliph's agents from collecting it and appropriated the proceeds himself. After lengthy recriminations it was agreed that the Jawálí for the current year should be retained by the Amír, in the following year it should again be collected by the Caliph's officials so that the Caliph's right to the Jawálí was vindicated.[4]

There are also references in the Caliphal decrees of this period to the Sadaqát and the Zakát due on *Mawáshi*, i.e. cattle, sheep, buffaloes and camels. But despite their names these revenues were never set apart for expenditure through a particular díwán on charitable objects. Closely connected with these taxes was a non-canonical tax on pasturage, the imposition of which a Caliphal decree denounced as pure oppression.[5] However, 'Aḍud al-Dawlah not only included the Sadaqát and Zakát on cattle in his items of revenue but also taxed grazing fields and established a special díwán[6] to regulate them altogether with a collector, a secretary and a cashier, and from Sawád alone he derived from this source a revenue of one million dirhams.[7] On the other hand later in 379 Bahá al-Dawlah abolished the tax on pasturage from the whole Sawád by order.[8]

1 Lokke., 109, 114; Maw. 357; Ist, 158; I. H., 217.
2 Sabi's letters, 112, 140.
3 I.J. VIII, 78.
4 MU. MS., 133b., 134a; I.J. VII, 113-114; Ath. IX, 350.
5 Sabi's letters, 158.
6 ديوان للمراعى و فرائض الصدقات
7 S., 174.
8 S., 72.

Most of the state taxes were, however, like the pasturage tax uncanonical (Mukús) and yet these after land tax were the most fruitful sources of income. By far the most important of these were the customs duties, both external and internal. The name given to these taxes "*al-Ma'áṣir*" is derived from the ropes or chains by which boats were prevented from escaping the payment of tolls.[1] They were introduced by Ibn Rá'iq[2] and though a Caliphal letter of investiture dated 366 lays stress on their illegal character they were kept in force.[3] Muhallabí had somewhat earlier collected from the impost on ships at Baṣrah as much as 2,000,000 dirhams.[4] 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's revenues from Fárs, Kirmán and 'Umán included customs dues derived from the sea ports of Síráf and Mahrúbán.[5]

The revenues of those provinces must have been favourably affected by the increase in shipping traffic at this period when trade at the ports of the Persian Gulf was facilitated by the establishment of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's authority not only over Makrán, Kirmán and Fárs on the north but also over 'Umán on the south.

Then there were the customs dues or tolls levied on the conveyance of commodities from one district to another. Muqaddasí writing after the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, complains of the heaviness of these tolls in 'Iráq. "Taxes" he says, "on land and water are heavy and of recent origin. In Baṣrah the search is thorough and rigorous. So also in the Baṭíḥah commodities are detained and inspected. For the Qarmaṭians there is a customs house at the gate of Baṣrah and for the Daylamites there is another so that four dirhams are charged on each sheep and the gate is not opened except for one hour of the day. When the pilgrims return they are obliged to pay on loads of skins and Arabian camels. Such is the case in Kúfah and Baghdád. In Kúfah and Baṣrah pilgrims are charged 60 dirhams for a *Maḥmal*, 100 dirhams for a *Kanísah* or a load of cloth and 150 dirhams for an '*Ammáriyyah*.[6] This is corroborated by the remark of Abú Shujá' that 'Aḍud al-Dawlah

1 Khwarizmi, 70. المأصر سلسلة اوحبل يشد معترضا فى النهر ينع السفن من المضى
The use of the term in classical dictionaries, historical and other books is discussed by M. Awad in al-Ma'áṣir, Chap. I, p. 7-21.

2 M. I, 383 f.n. on the authority of Takmila.

3 Sábí's letters, 138-139; Khwárizmí, 59.

4 M. II, 129.

5 Fársnámah, 171.

6 Muq., 135-134. We have not been able to ascertain the meaning of these terms but they were perhaps loads of different sizes or even loads carried by different animals.

increased the former taxes on commodities imported and exported,[1] though Miskawayh says that 'Aḍud al-Dawlah abolished the exaction of all kinds of taxes and oppressive imposts from the pilgrim caravans.[2] The taxes thus recorded by Muqaddasí as being imposed on pilgrims and others in the customs houses of Baṣrah, Kúfa and Baghdád, were probably levied all through the period, in spite of the fact that from time to time announcements were made abolishing them. The mere repetition of such announcements is enough to indicate this. Thus in 364, during the revolt of the Turks, Bakhtiyár announced from Wásiṭ the abolition in Baghdád of taxes on sheep and goats imported and exported by the pilgrims, while similar announcements were read from the pulpits of Wásiṭ.[3] But this abolition of Bakhtiyár was actually meaningless, since Baghdád was at that time wholly under the control of the Turks.

Sometimes exemption from these customs duties internal or external was accorded either by treaty or as a special privilege. Thus in a treaty with Mu'izz al-Dawlah Náṣir al-Dawlah undertook to send provisions to Baghdád free of levies,[4] and a similar privilege was enjoyed by the Turks whom Mu'izz al-Dawlah sent to different regions to collect their dues. Whatever they collected was to travel duty free.[5] and others in the customs houses of Baṣrah, Kúfah and Baghdád, were also taxes on the mere use of water-ways for all-purposes. Thus among their lists of the revenues of Fárs both Iṣṭakhrí and Ibn Ḥawqal include taxes on water which seem to have covered its use for such various purposes as irrigation, shipping and fishing, those on shipping being called "ship tithes" and "navigation dues" (اعشار السفن و ضرائب الملاحات).[6] Similarly Abú 'Alí b. Mákúlá, the Wazír of Jalál al-Dawlah introduced a tax on the boats called Sumariyyát plying on waterways in 'Iráq.[7]

Mustaghallát—This was a tax apparently peculiar to Fárs. It is again mentioned by both Iṣṭakhrí and Ibn Ḥawqal, who explain the term as meaning a tax on shops, houses and mills on government-owned

1 S., 72.
2 M. II, 407.
3 Sábí's letters, 236, 245.
4 M. II, 108.
5 M. II, 174.
6 Ist, 156-157; I. H., 215 of Díwán al-Má' of Khwárizmí, (68-9) where detail of irrigation taxes are mentioned.
7 Ath. IX, 288.

land.[1] The latter mentions a similar tax in Jazírah in Naṣíbín on the public baths and shops though without giving it that name.[2]

Excise duties on home industries and sales taxes on various commodities in ordinary use and presented for sale in the market were not unknown. While the taxes in Jazírah included one on mills,[3] in Baghdád 'Adud al-Dawlah diverted all but a fraction of the profits earned by all the local mills to the use of the state—a practice against which there were many protests towards the end of his reign, till at length Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah abandoned it.[4] 'Adud al-Dawlah even tried the establishment of state-monopolies in the manufacture of ice and silk-textiles preventing private persons from both making and trading in them[5] and an even more extensive monopoly was imposed at the very end of the Buwayhid period by Abú 'Alí, the son of Abú Kálíjár in Baṣrah, who then, in 443, obliged all commercial transactions to be conducted through the state-banker (Ṣarráf).[6] This, however, was perhaps only an emergency measure, since Abú 'Alí was then engaged in war with his brother al-Raḥím.

Two attempts were made, in 375 and 389, the first by Samṣám al-Dawlah[7] and the second by Bahá al-Dawlah's deputy in Baghdád, Abú Naṣr Sábúr, to impose a tithe on silk and cotton goods woven in the capital. But these produced riots on both occasions: and though after the second the tithe on silk goods was in fact imposed (and a Díwán established for its regulation) it was abolished three years later by 'Amíd al-Juyúsh.[8]

From the declaration of Bakhtiyár from Wásit[9] to which we have already referred, when he was in fact quite powerless, it is evident that there were then in force taxes on flour and various food-stuffs. We also read of a tax on the flour-market at Baghdád under Jalál al-Dawlah,[10] some fifty years later, when for a time a tax on salt was likewise imposed.[11]

1 Ist., 158, I. H., 217. Ya'qúb b. Killis the Wazir of the Fatimid al-'Azíz created a díwán known as al-Mustaghallát which, according to a modern Egyptian author, exercised jurisdiction over state-monopilies such as mineral products, sea-products, forests and also government shops, baths given for hire. ('Atiyya Musharrafa, Naẓm al-Ḥukm fí Miṣr, 174-5).

2 I. H., 143.

3 I. H., 143, 147.

4 S., 72.

5 S., 72; M. Kh., 30.

6 Násir Khusraw, 128.

7 S., 117-118.

8 H., 335-336.

9 See above, 195.

10 Ath. IX, 288.

11 I. J. VIII, 78.

Then there were sundry other minor taxes such as a tithe of one-fifth on the products of mines,[1] taxes on forests[2] and on the mints all of which are mentioned by Iṣṭakhrí and Ibn Ḥawqal as existing in Fárs.[3] As regards the last, the list of the revenues of al-Muqtadir contains as one item the income derived from the mints of Baghdád, Sámarrá, Wásiṭ, Baṣrah and Kúfah which yielded 60,370 dínárs[4] (equivalent to 1,207,400 dirhams), and similar profits must have been forthcoming throughout our period from these mints. As regards the nature of this income it was a profit derived from bullion delivered to the mints by traders and others for conversion into coin.[5]

Something resembling an income tax was introduced by Ṣamṣám's Wazír Ibn Sa'dán in 373. This consisted in a deduction made from salaries of officials and the rations allocated to them ; and every month their pay-certificates included a clause authorising the deduction of this tax and any arrears that might have occurred in it.[6] Sometimes even private labour was taxed and during the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah his Wazír Ibn Mákúlá thus imposed taxes on the porters who carried dates and other merchandise to boats.[7]

Another source of revenue was the Mál al-Jahbadhah introduced as early as the time of al-Muqtadir. Jahbadhah, according to the Kitáb al-Ḥáwí, was a tax levied in the case of land either per jarib or per thousand jarib and in the case of money collected either per hundred or per thousand dínárs, which would be calculated in such a way as to cover not only the pay of Jahbadh (Government Cashier) but also a lot of other contingencies including the remuneration of the Másiḥ, the Qussám, the Mu'ábir, the porters, weighers, the transport cost as also the Kifáyah and the Kusúr *i.e.* charges to make up for the deficient and broken coins.[8] The sum thus collected would not merely suffice for the above-mentioned expenses but would ultimately yield an income to the Treasury. Two Caliphal decrees of our period dated 366 include this as a legitimate source of income.[9] Though one of these enjoins provincial rulers to ask their Cashiers to be lenient to the people in the matter of collection[10] earlier in al-Muqtadir's time the good Wazír 'Alí ibn 'Isá considered this tax as a 'visitation on the people.[11]

1 اخماس المعادن
2 ضرائب اؤجام
3 Ist., 156-7; I. H., 216.
4 Kr. II, 27.
5 Sábi's letters, 141.
6 S., 85.
7 Ath. IX, 288.
8 Claude Cahen, Annales De l'institat D'Etudes Orientales d'Alger Tom 10 Anne 1952 Pp. 326-363.
9 Súbi's letters, 99, 127.
10 *Ibid.*, 111.
11 Wuz., 255.

A similar profit was derived under 'Aḍud al-Dawlah from the advances obtained by government officials to buy food-staffs at more than normal prices. The inspector of dates and goods in Baṣrah, for instance, would advance money to government officials to buy dates at higher prices than was necessary and the margin went to the state.[1]

A comparatively larger proportion of the revenues was, however, generally derived from various irregular sources, and though these sources were uncertain, the sums realised from them were often enormous too. Among these was the share seized by the state of the property of the deceased persons—which corresponds to modern death duties, as well as arbitrary fines and confiscations both from ordinary citizens and from government servant, fines and indemnities proper, such as police fines, law-court fines and collective fines, the sale of offices, and lastly bribes pure and simple.

Death duties at that time were not properly speaking duties at all. They were mere confiscations. On the death of a well-to-do person the state would lay claim to his property whether he left any heir or not. Whether this was done would depend mainly on the scruples of the individual ruler or administrator. Thus Mu'izz al-Dawlah confiscated the property of a deceased person disregarding the claims of his heir without of course interfering with his charitable endowments,[2] while Bahá al-Dawlah confiscated half the property of a deceased 'Alid.[3] On the other hand there are instances when individual Wazírs and administrators disliked including such finds in the government revenues.[4] While at the same time practice differed in the case of private individuals, in that of government servants confiscation on their demise of part or of the whole of their possessions was almost the rule. Even the

1 S., 67.

2 This man was Da'laj b. Aḥmad an inhabitant of Baghdád who left 300,000 mithqals of gold besides other property. (Sibt, II, f. 154a).

3 He was Abú'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Umar. The price of his property was fixed at 50,000 dínárs half of which was to go to the treasury and the rest to his heirs. (H., 347). Earlier Bahá al-Dawlah once confiscated his whole property worth 20,000,000 dirhams some of which was presumably restored afterwards. (S., 173-4).

4 (a) 'Amíd al-Juyúsh refused on the death of an Egyptian to confiscate his properties which were duly restored to a brother of the deceased. (I. J. VII, 253).

(b) Dhú'l-Sa'ádát Ibn Fasánjas, Wazír of Abú Kálíjár being informed from Ahwáz that a person died leaving 50,000 Maghribi dinars besides property worth another 50,000 dinárs, refused to take possession of those properties. (I. J. VIII, 139).

properties of Wazírs like Muhallabí[1] and Fakhr al-Mulk[2] were not spared on their death, while a fine of 80,000 dínárs was imposed on the son of the Wazír Dhú'l-Sa'ádatayn Abú Ghálib on the latter's death.[3]

Apart from this confiscation of the property of the deceased, the fining of private individuals or government servants for ready money was a common practice. Introduced under the early 'Abbásids,[4] it was resorted to very frequently during our period, particularly when revenues from usual sources stopped or were inadequate. It was known as Muṣádarah. The pre-Buwayhid Amír Ibn Shírzád resorted to a wholesale extortion of this type in 334 in the form of quotas on the wealth of clerks, revenue agents and ordinary people, and he even appointed spies[5] to detect persons in possession of hidden resources. He even went so far as to fine a Háshimí, though this was considered an almost unbelievably desperate expedient.[6] Confiscations were freely indulged in by Mu'izz al-Dawlah after the first Daylamite revolt in 334[7] and later by Bakhtiyár's Wazír Abú'l-Faḍl.

Abú'l-Faḍl while confining himself during his first wazirate to mere courtiers during the second proceeded also to fine merchants, from whom also he extorted money by various tricks.[8] Nor was he a respector of persons: Dhimmís and Muslims, notaries and other respectable citizens were all alike his victims. Like Ibn Shírzád he also employed a corps of spies whom he called agents ('Ummál) paying them regular salaries.[9] Confiscations also became common again under

1 On al-Muhallabi's death in 352 Mu'izz al-Dawlah sent someone to guard upon his property and his dependents. Members of his family including persons who had paid him a single visit and even his muleteers and boatmen were arrested and fined. (M. II, 197-8). The fines exacted from all of them amounted according to Yáqut to five million dirhams. (Yaq. Irsh. III, 184-5).

2 On the execution of Fakhr al-Mulk, Ṣultán al-Dawlah seized his cash money amounting to 630,000 dínárs (according to another report 1 million dínárs), besides landed property, clothes and furniture. Fakhr al-Mulk had another sum of 3 million dínárs lodged with different people and his former deputy, Ali al-Rukhkhaji traced it out skilfully. (I. J. VII, 286-7; VIII, 101-102: MU. MS., f. 54a).

3 I. J. VIII, 3; MU. MS., f. 54a.

4 Kr. (II), 9.

5 السعاة و الغمازون literally "runners and informers."

6 التاويل بالمحال legal trickery different from arbitrary fine without any reason whatsoever. *'Al-Muṣadarát' wa al-Ta'wíl b'il-Maḥál* were the two important sources of state income which went side by side.

7 M. II, 83-84; Ath. VIII, 357.

8 See above, 281.

9 M. II, 308.

Bahá al-Dawlah and his Wazírs[1] and later Jalál al-Dawlah also practised it from time to time.[2]

Sometimes when it was decided to fine some individuals they would be suddenly arrested and money would be demanded of them under torture and this was particularly true of government employees. Thus in 350 Mu'izz al-Dawlah arrested the treasurer, Ṣáḥib al-Díwán, Ṣáḥib Díwán al-Nafaqah, Ṣáḥib Díwán al-Jaysh and other officials in order to extort money from them for his building project.[3] It was the common fate of dismissed officers, governors and Wazírs to be handed over to their rivals, who would assume office on promise of exacting certain amounts from these victims under torture. This was a practice most resorted to under Mu'izz al-Dawlah,[4] even more under Bakhtiyár,[5] and later again under Bahá al-Dawlah.[6]

1 S., 251; H., 413.

2 See above, 200.

3 Mu'izz al-Dawlah was able to realise more than half of the whole amount of his expenditure, which was 13 million dirhams, from there officers, the highest being exacted from the treasurer Abú 'Alí who died under torture. (M. II, 185, 186-88; Yaq. Irsh. III, 182).

4 Mu'izz al-Dawlah demanded 40,000 dirhams from his prefect of police Abzá'ijí, on refusal, of which he dismissed and arrested him and demanded a fine of 300,000 dirhams. (M. II, 148).

5 (a) Ibn Fasanjas promised if appointed Wazír to exact 9 million dirhams from his rival Abu'l-Faḍl and his dependents. (M. II, 263-4). Abu'l-Faḍl likewise when his turn came promised to exact from Ibn Fasanjas and his dependents seven million dirhams. (M. II, 269).

(b) The Wazír Abu'l-Faḍl arrested a corrupt governor of Baṣrah Abú Ṭáhir Ḥusayn and handed him over to his rival 'Alí who tortured Abú Ṭáhir his friends and associates to death for money. (M. II, 295).

(c) Ibn Baqiyyah arrested Sahl b. Bishr, the governor of Ahwáz and tortured him for money. He also tortured to death a friend of Sahl, from whom he exacted 100,000 dínárs. (M. II, 358-9).

6 (a) During the regime of al-Mu'allim (379-382) he handed over a prefect of police to an enemy of his who promised to realise a vast sum from him. (S., 179-180).

(b) In 381 al-Mu'allim arrested Bahá's deputy Abú Naṣr Khwáshadhah and exacted two million dirhams from him though Khwáshádhah had already paid him one thousand dínárs. (S., 198). Al-Mu'allim also arrested and fined one Abú Abdullah a deputy Wazír. (S., 199).

(c) The Wazír al-Muwaffaq realised, in 388 a sum of 30,000 dínárs from three refugee officers, who had left office and fled to Baṭíḥah for their reinstatement to the court of Bahá al-Dawlah. (S., 308).

(d) In 393 one Abú'l-Faḍl Súdmand being appointed Wazír by Bahá Dawlah arrested the Wazír Abú Ghalib (later known as Fakhr-al-Mulk) and fixed the latter's fine at 100,000 Qásání dínárs equivalent to 4 million dirhams. (S., 459-460).

Even the Caliphs themselves were fined at times. Thus in 361 Bakhtiyár made al-Muṭí' pay him 400,000 dirhams—a fact that became widely known.[1] Again it was with a view to obtaining money from him that in 381 Bahá al-Dawlah on the advice of his courtier al-Mu'allim arrested al-Ṭá'i' and when actually received nothing from him he made al-Qadir Caliph.[2]

Distinct from all these arbitrary fines and confiscations were the fines and indemnities proper imposed on criminals; and these also formed part of state-revenues. In 436 a dismissed prefect of police was tried for murdering individuals for money while in office and the Qádí's court fined him 5,500 dínárs, which was then taken by the government cashier and spent on the payment of the troops.[3] Sometimes again collective fines were imposed on rioters, this was called *Taqsíṭ*. So in 418 when law and order was re-established after a riot a collective fine of 100,000 dínárs was imposed on the inhabitants of al-Karkh[4] and at least in one case this rendered a victim utterly destitute so that on his death the Caliph al-Qádir had to arrange for his shroud out of his own fiunds.[5]

Even so corrupt a practice as the sale of offices was common under Mu'izz al-Dawlah. He farmed out the post of Qádí al quḍát against an annual payment of 200,000 dirhams. Similarly he farmed out the Ḥisbah (the Inspectorate of morals and markets) in Baghdád, while the prefecture of police was likewise sold for payments of 20,000 dirhams every lunar month.[6] Fortunately the decision of the Qádí in question were all later on reversed when another judge (Abú Bishr 'Umar b. Akhtam) was properly appointed in his place.[7]

Lastly we come to ordinary bribes (Maráfiq), the acceptance of which by Bakhtiyár became a regular practice. From Ibn Baqiyyah in particular while the latter was still the Controller of his kitchen he used to accept a sum of 10,000 dirhams every month and entered into an agreement with him against the heads of the Díwáns and the clerks. Apart from these payments in cash Ibn Baqiyyah also bribed him in the form of presents of slaves, horses and donkeys.[8] When an Amír was

1 M. II, 308.
2 S., 201.
3 I. J. VIII, 129.
4 I. J. VIII, 25; Ath. IX, 249.
5 I. J. VIII, 37; Ath. IX, 261.
6 M. II, 188-189; I. J. VII, 2; Ath. VIII, 399.
7 M. II, 196; I. J. VII, 116.
8 M. II, 286.

thus amenable to bribes his favourites and clerks naturally became amenable too. So we find Bakhtiyár's favourite Shírzád receiving bribes from Abú Qurrah and after Shírzád's banishment Subektekín. with whom Abú Qurrah made an alliance, doing likewise.[1] Abú Qurrah indeed revelled in corrupting Wazírs and revenue-officers right and left.[2]

When the Mu'allim, Bahá al-Dawlah's virtual dictator for three years, solicited a bribe from Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah, Bahá al-Dawlah's deputy, Abú Naṣr remarked: "Only one who is either affluent or himself receives bribes can afford to give them."[3] This shows the real spirit of the time. Almost every government servant or everyone who received profits by unlawful means was in the habit of bribing the more influential courtiers. Ordinary clerks also received bribes when the occasion presented itself. Thus the clerks of Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah while granting fiefs to the Arabs of the Banú 'Uqayl in Diyár Rabí'ah made a large profit by accepting bribes.[4] The way in which even ordinary officials were frequently fined and at times actually paid up huge sums proves beyond doubt that bribery and corruption were very common and widespread.

(c) *State Expenditure*

As regards the expenditure we can only guees and speculate, there being no actual figures in the texts of the period; and in attempting to enumerate the possible items of expenditure we are faced with the question whether there was any clear line of demarcation between the state-treasury and the personal treasury of Amír al-Umará. The answer is perhaps 'no'. Under Bakhtiyár we find the Wazír Abú'l-Faḍl creating a díwán with a special official at its head to look after some territories which Bakhtiyár declared to be his own, and this was called the '*Díwán al-Kháṣṣ*'.[5] The appropriation of these estates was no doubt made in imitation of the former crown-lands of the Caliphs. In a treaty between Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah and Bahá al-Dawlah, again, it was laid down that both the princes were to have private fiefs in each other's territories,[6] while the rebellious Turkish soldiers of Jalál al-Dawlah laid their hands on his private lands and appropriated the

1 See above, 34.
2 M. II, 261.
3 S., 198.
4 S., 144.
5 M. II, 284.
6 S., 184.

revenues which amounted to 54,000 Sábúrí dínárs.[1] But though the Amír might have owned such private estates no difference appears to have been made between the state-treasury and the Amír's private treasury. At least there is no evidence to prove that the accounts were ever kept separate.

The greatest charges on the revenues of the state were undoubtedly the maintenance of the army, the cost of military expeditions, and the private establishment of the Amír. It is very difficult to determine what amount was actually spent on the army but as most of the Amírs were continually short of funds and faced serious rebellions every now and then, it seems pretty certain that by far the greatest portion of the state-income went towards the payment of the soldiery. 'Amíd al-Juyúsh in 392 reduced all the allowances of the army in Baghdád and abolished the allowances of those who then received new fiefs. He curtailed these allowances to 7,000 dínárs payable in every 35 days.[2] Calculated in dirhams (one Ṣáḥibí dínár being equal to 25 dirhams), these payments come to about two million dirhams annually.[3] But this is accounted for by the fact that only a small part of the army was then stationed in Baghdád, the greater part being posted in Shíráz with Bahá al-Dawlah. The upkeep of the army in the provinces was very expensive. Thus when Bakhtttekín was governor of Ahwáz, he wrote to Bakhtiyár to say that the whole revenue of Ahwáz was accounted for by the sums allocated to the Turks and their entertainment.[4] As the revenues of Ahwáz were 30 million dirhams this shows how much was required for the troops of a single province.

We are in similar darkness regarding the expenditure on expeditions. During the reign of Sharaf al-Dawlah Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah was granted 300,000 dirhams for his expedition to Mawṣil. But this was considered to be a very inadequate sum for such an enterprise.[5] During Bahá al-Dawlah's expedition to Arraján the treasures found after its conquest amounted to one million dínárs and eight million dirhams. But in the course of a few days nearly the while amount was distributed in payment of the soldiery only 400,000 dínárs and 400,000 dirhams remaining to be conveyed back to Ahwáz.[6]

The personal establishment of the Amírs was very elaborate.

1 I. J. VIII, 78.
2 H., 443.
3 7000×25×360=1,800,000
4 M. II, 269.
5 S., 144.
6 S., 183.

For it was their conscious aim to eclipse the Caliphs who were simultaneously obliged to live more and more plainly. The Amír's establishment included his household, the Wakíl (steward) the chamberlains, the porters, the farráshún,[1] the household body guards, eunuchs, wives, children, the kitchen with the controller of the kitchen (Ṣáḥib Maṭbakh) and his staff, the royal stables with the horses and grooms, the royal barges and bargemen (Malláḥún).

Even in the period of decline the private camels of Sharaf al-Dawlah on the eve of his expedition to 'Iráq numbered 13,000. 1,800 grooms and servants looked after his horses and the rest (the remaining establishment) was on a corresponding scale, suitable to an opulent monarch.[2] But the maintenance of such vast stables was sometimes an embarrassment. In 422 Jalál al-Dawlah was obliged to let his horses loose from lack of the means to feed them.[3] In an epidemic in 437, 12,000 horses were lost to Abú Kálíjár.[4] The expense of the barges of various kinds was again very high. Thus we read of Jalál al-Dawlah's spending 10,000 dínárs for one *Tayyár*,[5] while 'Aḍud al-Dawlah had a *zabzab* built of silver in the shape of a beast of prey.[6]

Under the personal expenditure of the Amír there were often included sums spent on what we should call social and welfare activities. But these varied from individual to individual and depended on the one hand on the Amír's temperament and on the other on his financial stability. Under this category came the patronage of learning, art and letters, building activities, the construction of mosques, sarais, tombs and madrasahs, contributions to religious ceremonies, particularly the two Shí'í ceremonies of the 'Áshúrá and the 'Id al-Ghadír, charities for mosques and for the Holy places such as Makkah Madinah and the tombs of 'Alí and Ḥusayn, charities to the indigent, the repair of bridges, roads, canals, expenditure on irrigation and the building and maintaining of hospitals.

In this connection we shall see what a great number of poets, writers, men of learning and science were patronised by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah; and as for the huge sums spent by the Amírs on the building of palaces, Mu'izz al-Dawlah built his residence in the Shammasiyyah at a cost of 13 million dirhams.[7] 'Aḍud al-Dawlah spent five million on another palace and the cost of irrigating a garden and

1 House-hold attendants of the name sometimes acting also as very influential courtiers.

2 S., 128 on the authority of Hilál al-Ṣábí.

3 See above, 207.

4 I. J. VIII, 128.

5 I. J. VIII, 119.

6 I. J. VII, 107.

7 M. II, 183.

levelling the ground, on which it was to be laid for him, was calculated to be five million dirhams.[1]

A considerable sum was spent by the Amírs in charity. Mu'izz al-Dawlah, for instance, on the occasion of his return from a visit to the palace of al-Muṭí' ordered a sum of 10,000 dirhams, which he put at the disposal of the Naqíb of the 'Alids, to be distributed among the people.[2] Bakhtiyár was also well-known for his charity though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish this from his extravagance.[3] As for 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, being so much better off he could afford to spend vast sums under the head. We have already mentioned his charities to Imáms, Mu'adhdhins and the indigent and those in which he indulged on the taking of any vow. He also spent lavishly on the repair of bridges, roads, canals, dams and weirs. Fakhr al-Mulk also took a particular interest in repairing breaches in dams. A regular feature of the Buwayhid government was also the maintenance, as in the earlier period, of a number of state-officials known as '*Aṣḥáb Maṣáliḥ*' (welfare officials), to look after irrigation.[4]

Besides these there were the cost of maintaining the civil government, the secretariat: the government departments and their clerks, the 'Ummál and the Mushrifún (the Inspectors), the cost of the organisation of post and intelligence services and the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice. The last included the prefect of police with the police staff (رجالة المعونة),[5] the Inspector of morals and markets (Muḥtasib), the Qádís and the whole judicial organisation including the Maẓálim courts[6] and these all existed, we know, under the Buwayhids. But we do not possess sufficient data about their working to enable us to supply an adequate account of it.

1 I. J. VII, 79.

2 *Ibid.*, 21.

3 Ibn Khall. Tr. I, 250. Bakhtiyár was excessive in his grants, general expenses and allowances to his officials. He spent so vast a sum on waxes (some of them must have been for mosques) that on Aḍud's coming to Baghdád the latter had to stop it.

4 A few references to them during our period: they departed from the areas given away in fiefs by Mu'izz (M. II, 98); 'Ayyárs killed some of them in 420 (I. J. VII, 45); Some 'Ayyárs appointed as welfare officials (I. J. VIII, 49); welfare officials assigned taxes from the market (I. J. VIII, 78).

5 Some references to رجالة المعونة ; weakened because of the activities of the 'Ayyárs (I. J. VIII, 40); some of them killed in the hands of the 'Ayyárs (I. J. VIII, 45).

6 The chief function of these courts is defined as compelling those who would would do each other wrong—Mutaẓallimún—to mutual justice. A detailed discussion of this is made by Amedroz in JRAS, 1911, 635.

	Hárún al-Rashíd (Kr. I, 21-8)	al-Muqtadir (Kr. II, 32-8)	Early Buwayhids and Hamdanids	'Adud al-Dawlah
Total:	530,312,000	14,501,904 din= 290,038,080	Bakhtiyár 72,000,000	360,000,000 (I. J. VIII, 16).
Provinces				
Iraq= Sawad	87,780,000 (crops) 14,000,000 (other sources) 101,780,000 (Besides things in kind).	1,547,734 din= 30,954,680	Kufa & Sawad 30,000,000 Wasit & Basrah 12,000,000 (Bakhtiyár) 42,000,000 (I. H., 168-9)	Share of crops 86,780,000 Abwáb al-Mál 4,008,000 Tigris region 8,500,000 99,288,000 (Muq., 133)
Ahwaz	25,000,000 (Besides things in kind).	1,260,922 din= 25,218,440	Barídí offered 360,000 din= 7,200,000 (M. I., 258-9) Bakhtiyár 30,000,000 (I. H., 178).	30,000,000 (Muq., 418)
Fars Kirman	27,000,000 (Besides things in kind). 4,200,000 (and things in kind)	1,634,520 din= 32,690,400 364,380 din= 7,287,600	'Alí b. Ilyas pays 500,000 din= 10,000,000 Bakhtiyár 22,000,000 (I. H., 222)	Fars, Kirman and Uman combined 3,346,000 din= 66,920,000 (Fársnáma, 171).
Jazírah	Mawsil 24,000,000 Other parts 34,000,000 58,000,000 (and other things in kind).	1,419,951 din= 28,399,020	Hamdanids: Nasi bin 5,640,000 (I. H., 142-3) Mawsil and other parts 36,290,000 (I. H., 147) 21,930,000	'Adud must have inherited all the Hamdanid revenues

NOTE: The ratio between ***dínár*** and ***dirham*** fluctuated from time to time and in spite of the jurists' assertion that it was 1:10, in actual practice it was 1:22 under al-Rashid and from al-Muqtadir's time down to the death of Adud 1:20. (Kr. II, 7-8). The conversions in the table are made accordingly. An examination of the specific gravity of some of the 'Abbásid and Buwayhid coins carried on by my friend Dr. Ehrenkreutz on my behalf, (see the other chart). shows that the Buwayhid dínárs of the two weak and insolvent rulers, Bakhtiyár and Bahá al-Dawlah, are purer than those of al-Muqtadir and though unfortunately the two dínárs of 'Adud from Súq al-Ahwáz show deficiency we may assume that his dínárs from Baghdád (which were not available for examination) might have been of a higher standard than those of Bakhtiyúr and Bahá al-Dawlah. A silver coin of Mu'izz al-Dawlah also compares favourably with that of al-Muqtadir. The debasement of silver, however, under Bahá al-Dawlah as seen in this experiment is also corroborated by our texts and at least once 40 dirhams went for 1 dínár. (H., 469).

Chart to compare the specific gravity of some of the Abbasíd and Buwayhid coins.

(a) *Dinárs*:

Year A.H.	Mint	Ruler	gravity Specific	Degree of purity of per cent	Number[1]
175	Madínat al-Salám	Hárún al-Rashíd	19.171	98.81	145a|Add,47-8
305	,,	Muqtadir	17.439	89.89	419g|Add,75
357	,,	Bakhtiyár	18.249	94.06	653|II,205
368	Súq al-Ahwáz	'Adud al-Dawlah	16.048	82.72	655|II,207
370	,,	,,	16.324	84.14	New acquisition
396	Madínat al-Salám	Bahá al-Dawlah	17.6	90.72	669|II,214

(b) *Dirhams*:

Year A.H.	Mint	Ruler	gravity Specific	Degree of purity of per cent	Number[1]
175	Madínat al-Salám	Hárún al-Rashíd	10.413		211|I,80
304	,,	Muqtadir	9.691		440|I,149
No date	,,	Mu'izz al-Dawlah	9.		649|II,204
381	,,	Bahá al-Dawlah	6.608		682|II,214

1 The numbers refer to the acquisition number of the British Museum and also page number of Lane-Poole's Catalogues.

SAM MIRZA AND HIS "TUHFA-I-SAMI"

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Sám Mirzá is very brief about Mauláná 'Áṣafi another important poet. Sám Mirzá states that his father was a vazír of Sultán Abú Sa'íd hence he took 'Áṣafi to be his nom deplume. Sám Mirzá also mentions that he had completed his díwán of ghazals and a mathnaví in the style of Makhzanul-Asrár. which according to Sám did not become popular.[1] Sám Mirzá does not mention the name of this mathnaví, nor does he mention the full name of the poet. Dawlat Sháh and Mír 'Alí Shír who were his contemporaries are also silent in this regard. Moreover, the statement of Sám Mirzá about the date of poet's death which according to him was 920, does not seem to be correct. The author of Aḥsan ut-Tawárikh gives it to be 16th Sh'abán, 921 A.H.[2] Ḥasan Rumlú mentions the following chronogram in this regard which Sám Mirzá should have also given. The chronogram runs thus:

چون آصفی آن چشم خرد را مردم — در ابر اجل گشت نهان چون انجم

پرسید دل از من که چه آمد تاریخ — گفتم ز برات آمده روز دویم [3]

Sám Mirzá's account of Mauláná Banná'í is more satisfactory. Regarding the name of the poet Sám Mirzá is silent which as a biographer, he should have given. According to Aḥsan his name was Shír 'Alí.[4] Since his father was an architect he had Banná'í as his nom deplume. Sám Mirzá throws flood of light on his relations with Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í which were not pleasant. Sám Mirzá also gives valuable information that this poet was also in the service of Sulṭán Ya'qúb where he prospered and whence he went and entered into the service of Sulṭán 'Alí Mirzá in Transoxiana.[5] Here he wrote a qaṣida in Turki called Majma'ul-Ghará'ib of which Sám Mirzá quotes few verses.[6] When Muḥammad Shaibání conquered Transoxiana, Banná'í entered into his service and became the poet-laureate. He was killed in the Qarshí massacre commanded by Amir Najm-i-Sání in 981 A.T.[7]

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 97.

2 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 157.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

5 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 99.

6 *Ibid.* For more couplets see Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 137.

7 *Ibid.*

Sám Mirzá further unveils the fact that Banná'í was well versed in music and geometry and wrote treatise on them.[1] About his mathnaví to Sultán Ya.qúb. This is really a valuable and rare information which Amír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í does not give. Perhaps the poet lived even after Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í. Sám Mirzá states that Banná'í wrote few that Banná'í late in his life made a study of Díwán of Khwaja Háäfiz. The author of Átashkadah states that Banná'í wrote two díwáns in intention of Háfiz and Sa'dí.

و در آخر بطــرز شیخ ســعدی و خواجه حافــظ دو دیوان در جواب غزلیات ایشان تمام کــرد [2]

Sám Mirzá omits interesting accounts of Banná'í for which one has to look towards Bábur Námá, whose author writes that Banná'í had written mathnaví on fruits in the mataqárib metre.[3] About Bannái's proficiency in music, the same author writes that in the beginning he was ignorant of the art of music, so one winter when Mirzá Bábur took 'Alí Shír Beg with him and went to winter in Merv Banná'í stayed behind in Heri and so applied himself to the study of music that before the heats, he had composed several works. The same author writes that he then played and sang airs with variations after the Mirzá had come in Heri. Sám Mirzá is silent on Banná'í's visit to India with Humáyun for which one has to depend on the other sources. The author of Subh Gulshan writes thus:

در عهد همایون پادشاه کمر عزیمت هنــدوستان بــرمیان جان بست [4]

Next poet in series is Mauláná Nidhámí Mumá'í. Though Sám Mirzá is brief, his accounts are valuable. He states that the poet is a native of Astrábád and was well versed in riddles. He composed a mathnaví called Sulaimán-u-Bilqís. Sám Mirzá does not mention any verse from this mathnaví. The poet died in 921 A.H.[5] The information about this poet is difficult to be had from other sources. In this light Sám Mirzá's accounts are valuable. Another contemporary writer Hasan Rumlú is also very brief about this poet. Sám Mirzá

1 For this Sām Mirzā's source seem to be Majalis-un-Nafa'is, p. 60.
2 Atash Kadāh, p. 153.
3 Bābur Nāmā, I. pp. 286-87.
4 Subh Gulshan p. 68. This information of Subh Gulshan seems to be in correct because Bannā'ī was killed at Qarshi in 918 according to more authentic sources, *viz.* Tuhfa-i-Sāmī and Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh.
5 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 100.

does not acquaint his readers with the charms of his riddles for which Mír 'Alí Shír Nawa'í's book Majálisun-Nafá'is is worth referring.

Mauláná Ummidí was also a great poet who occupies a prominent place in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí of Sám Mirzá who opines that he was a better Qaṣída writer and hails from a village of Ṭehrán, one of the districts of Ray where his father was holding a high position. In the beginning he went to Shiráz for the acquisition of knowledge where he became the pupil of Jalál-ud-Dín Muḥammad Dawwání. Like Daulat Sháh author of Tadhkiratush-Sh'uará, Sám Mirzá could have also given the accounts of this great scholar whom he very often refers to in his Tadhkirá. Unlike Daulat Sháh, who also during the course of writing acquaints his readers with other persons that came in connection with the poet proper, Sám Mirzá gives the account of this scholar separately.[1] While writing about the poet Ummidí, Sám Mirzá states that Mauláná Dawwání had given another name to the poet. He called him Mas'ud. It is also learnt from Tuḥfá-i-Sámí that Ummidí was interested in medicine.[2] Ummidí was held in high esteem by the courtiers of Sháh Ismá'íl with whom he moved freely. Ummidí was killed by a band of assasins in 925 A.H. There is no doubt that Ummidí was a famous poet during the time of Sháh Ismá'íl but his accounts in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí are too brief and unsatisfactory, though more authentic and valuable. Sám Mirzá does not mention the works of this poet who had to his credit Sáqí Námá.[3] Sám Mirzá is silent as far as his poetry is concerned and does not give out his precious opinion about it as he does in other cases. About Ummidí's poetry Amír 'Alí Sher Nawá'í opines that his verses are in the style of the qiṭ'as of Ibn Yamín. Sám Mirzá is not clear and explicit about Afẓal who wrote the following chronogram on the death of Ummidí.

نادر العصر امیدی مظلوم — که بنا حق شهید شد ناگاه
شب بخواب من آمد و فرمود — کای ز سر درون من آگاه
سال تاریخ قتل من بنویس — آه از خون ناحق من آه[4]

The author of above chronogram, Afẓal, was one of the pupils of Mauláná Ummidí.[5] Prof. B. G. Browne writes that it was Námí and not Afzal,[6] but it does not seem to be correct that some men of Nur Bakhsha sect killed him. The author of Aḥsan Qiwám-ud-Dín Núr Bakhsha regarding a garden. In 929 A.H. Qiwám-

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 48.
2 Ibid., p. 101.
3 Atash Kadāh, p. 215.
4 Majālis-un-Nafāis, p. 142.
5 Atash Kadāh, p. 215.
6 Browne IV. p. 231.

ud-Dín sent Báyandar Awlád with few men who mortally wounded Ummidí in the year 925 A.H. but this does not seem to be correct. He was killed in 929 A.H. according to Ḥasan Rumlú whose statement seems to be more authentic although both of them were Ummidí's contemporaries because Sám Mirzá was a boy of about 6 year old at the time of the murder; hence his source must be based on an hearsay while Rumlú the author of Aḥsan-ut-Twáríkh was a grown up man and must have witnessed the fact. Regarding the murder of Ummidí something escapes the pen of Sám Mirzá and it is that the murder went unpunished owing to Sháh Ismá'íl's death but later on, when Sháh Ṭahmásp returned from Khurásán in 944 A.H. he had Qiwám-ud-Dín arrested and imprisoned and ordered Ummidí's family to be brought to Qazwín.[1] This again goes in favour of the year 929 A.H. to be the date of Ummidí's murder, for Sháh Ismá'íl died in 930 A.H. immediately after Ummidí and naturally in this mourning period this murder might have escaped the notice of the ruling authority.

Sám Mirzá's account of Bábá Fughání is no doubt valuable and important. According to Sám Mirzá, Bábá Fughání was from Shiráz and was in the service of Sultán Ya'qúb wherein he prospered.[2] At that time he was called Báhá-í-Shu'ará. He was very much fond of wine and spent most of his time in taveras. After the death of Sulṭán Ya'qúb, he went to Khurásán during the time of Sháh Ismá'íl and settled in Abíward where the governor of the place fixed up one maund of mutton and one maund of wine as his allowance. Later on he became the source of pleasure and meriment for the people of the tavern who very often cut jokes at him while the poet tolerated for the sake of wine. Fughání died at Mashhad in 925 A.H. Sám Mirzá does not express his opinion about him as a poet. Sám Mirzá's accounts of this poet are definitely better than those recorded by the author of Majálisun-Nafá'is who is very brief and scanty. In the beginning the poet wrote verses under the pen-name of Sakkakí which he later changed to Fughání.[3] This Sám Mirzá fails to mention. Also Sám Mirzá does not refer to his díwán which the poet Bábá Fughání had to his credit.[4] Sám is also silent in mentioning the poet's story in Tabriz before he went to Sulṭán Ya'qúb.[5]

Mauláná Ahlí Shírází was one of the notable poets of the 10th century whose notice is to be found in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí. As usual Sám Mirzá is too brief in giving the account of this poet. Sám does not

1 Aḥsan, Tr. p. 256.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 102.
3 Shiblī, III.
4 Atash Kadāh, p. 306.
5 Shafaq, p. 349.

make mention of his díwán which according to Átash Kadah consisted of 12,000 verses.[1] Mauláná Ahlí had several works to his credit but Sám Mirzá sleeps over them. He simply writes that he wrote a mathnaví in double measure. Among his works are Sham'-u-Parvána, Sihr-i-Hilál. Risála-i-Naghz Sáqí Náma, and Fawá'idul-Qawá'id.[2] As a biographer of poets this mention of his works was expected from Sám Mirzá who but fails in this. Mauláná Ahlí died at the age of eighty,[3] but Sám Mirzá simply mentions the year of his death which was 942 A.H. In the absence of the information in Majálisun-Nafá'is of Amír 'Alí Shír Nawái, which simply states a sentence, Sám Mirzá's accounts are valuable.

Maulána Lisání whose full name is not to be found in Tuhfá was a notable poet. He was a Shírází but spent most of his time in Tabríz and Baghdád. Sám Mirzá was very often in his company as he himself states in his Tuhfá.[4] He died in 942 A.H. and was buried in Sarkháb. It is really a matter of regret that Sám Mirzá who knew the poet so well is but brief in giving the account. He sleeps over many other interesting account connected with this poet. Though Sám Mirzá expresses his views on the poetry of Lisání he is silent about his díwán and other literary compositions. According to Átash Kadah Lisání's díwáns contained 12,000 verses.[5]

Moreover Lisání's death does require a special mention but to our surprise Sám Mirzá is completely silent. He simply gives the date of his death to be 942 A.H. which is also incorrect. He died in 940 A.H.[6] Hasan Rumlú and perhaps this is the source of Browne also gives the same date.[7] The details pertaining to the death of poet are interesting. He died in Tabríz just before it was taken by the Ottomán Sultán Sulaimán. On account of his devotion to the twelve Imams Lisání used to put on constantly the twelve gored cap and never removed it from his head. He heard the news of the swift advance of the army of Sultán Sulaimán towards Tabríz while he was in the great mosque of Tabríz. Hearing this news of the fast approach of army Lisání raised his hands in prayer saying, "O, God, this usurpur is coming to Tabríz. I cannot remove this crown from my head, nor conciliate myself to witnessing his triumph, therefore, suffer me to die and bring me to the court of Thy Mercy." He then bowed his head

1 Atash Kadāh, p. 278.
2 Beal, p. 37.
3 Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 266.
4 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 104.
5 Atash Kadāh, p. 307.
6 Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh.
7 Browne, IV., p. 235.

in prayers and in that attitude surrendered his soul to the beloved.[1] The author of Majálisun-Nafá'is who too could have given some details about this poet is more brief than Sám Mirzá whose information as compared to those of Nawá'í is great and more authentic both in quality and quantity.[2]

Mauláná Ḥairatí who was one of the leading poets of S͟háh Ṭahmásp's reign and who had won laurels during his time, also finds place in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí of Sám Mirzá who simply writes that he was a native of Merv but confirms on the poet's own authority that he was a native of Tun. If Sám Mirzá's statement is to be believed, the statement of the author of Aḥsan-ut-Twáríkh who was also a contemporary seems to be doubtful. According to Aḥsan, Ḥairatí was Astrabadi. Since Mír 'Alí S͟hír Nawá'í also mentions Tun as his native place Sám Mirzá's statement becomes more authentic and correct.[3] The fact that escaped the pen of Sám Mirzá is that the poet Ḥairati received great rewards from S͟háh Ṭahmásp. Ḥairatí is said to have received the title of Malikh-us͟h-S͟hu'ará, from the S͟háh for one qaṣidá.[4] Ḥairatí had to his credit a díwán of g͟hazals, a qaṣídah and Buhjatut-Muhabil.[5] This is now mentioned by Sám Mirzá who is also silent over a fact that the poet had also written a qaṣídáh complaining against the people of Qazwín. Sám Mirzá also is silent regarding the qaṣídáh of the same poet written in reply to that of K͟hwajá Salmán Sáwaí. Ḥairatí had written verses in honour of Humáyún while he was in Mas͟hshad.[6] Sám Mirzá sleeps over this too.

Mauláná S͟háhidí was another poet who lived during the time of Sám Mirzá. He was holding the post of Malikus͟h-S͟h'uara during the reign of Sultán Ya'qúb.[7] Sám Mirzá informs us that whosoever criticised or raised objections regarding his poetry left the assembly painfully never to come back. In the end he went from K͟hurásán to 'Iráq and thence he turned towards India and settled in one of the cities of Gujrát. He died in 935 A.H. Sám Mirzá further writes that he died at the age of 100. About his account Sám Mirzá does not seem to be careful. His statement that S͟hahidí went from K͟hurásán to 'Iráq is not correct but the journey was vice versa, when he met Jámí.[8] Mauláná S͟háhidí was also patronised by the ruler of Gilán, Sulṭán

1 Browne, IV., pp. 235-36
2 For Lisānī's accounts in Majālis-un-Nafāis, see p. 160.
3 Majālisun-Nafā'is, p. 153.
4 Beal, p. 259.
5 Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 385.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 280.
7 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 106.
8 Majālis-un-Nafāis, p. 296.

Mirzá 'Alí who had showered gold on the poet while in Qazwín.[1] Again it is to be noted, here, that instead of preserving the amount he came and as usual threw it in a corner of his house thus allowing his friends to utilise it.[2] Sám Mirzá only writes that Sháhidí was patronised by Sulṭán Ya'qúb.

Firisht writes that Sháhidí was not dead till 938 A.H. while Sám writes that he died in 935 A.H. The statement of former seems to be authentic as he himself was in India.

Sám Mirzá's accounts regarding the poet Darwesh Dehki are too brief. This poet was held in great honour by Sulṭán Ya'qúb hence Sám should have given some details about him. The poet Darwísh Dehkí was a contented man and his source of income was his grape garden. Sulṭán Ya'qúb once called him in his assembly when the poet read the following maṭla':

چون ز پیش آید خدنگش برقفا بندم سپر
تا نیاید نوک پیکانش از آن ....

Sulṭán laughed and was pleased. He asked the poet to demand whatever reward he wanted but the poet refused to accept anything out of contentment. But by repeated requests of the Sulṭán, Darwesh asked that he should be exempted from paying the taxes.[3] Mír 'Alí Shír held him in great honour and liked his verses. All this, Sám Mirzá, does not mention. He is too brief.

The account of the poet Gul-khaní as given by Sám Mirzá is good and valuable, for most of the tadhkira writers are brief and unsatisfactory as compared to Sám Mirzá. The poet Gul-khaní and Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá were extremely free with each other and very often they cut jokes at each other.[4] Gul-khaní died in one of the battles fought between the Uzbek and one of the sons of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá whose name Sám Mirzá does not mention. Gul-khaní's relations with 'Alí Shír Nawá'í were not pleasant. Sám Mirzá does not refer to the fact that 'Alí Shír Nawá'í had banned Gul-khaní's entry into Khurásán.[5] Since Majálisun-Nafá'ís was one of the sources of Tuḥfá-i-Sámí. Sám Mirzá should have brought this point within the compass of his pen.

1 Majālis-un-Nafā'is, p. 296.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 291.
4 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, under Gulkhanī.
5 Majālis-un-Nafā'is, p. 297.

Mauláná Ḥairání was one of the leading poets of 10th century. He composed the following works: Behrám-u-Náhíd, Manadhira of Ásmán-u-Zamín, Síkh-u-Murgh, and Sham'u-Parwána. He was patronised by Sulṭán Ya'qúb. Sám Mirzá mentions that Ḥairání was from Qum, he is known as Hamadání but does not give the reason of this. He was so called because he had married there and more important reason is that he was expelled from Káshán as he was alleged to have fallen in love with a youth, for which the Qáẓí of the place passed an order expelling him from the city.[1] Mání Mashhadí was in the service of Muḥammad Múmin, son of Sulṭán Ḥussain Mirzá. Sám Mirzá writes that Mání died in 923 A.H. at Mashhadi[2].

As a biographer Sám Mirzá should have given the reason of the poet's adopting the takhallus of Mání. For this, one has to look to other sources. Majálisun-Nafá'ís mentions that the poet Mání was an exper'tpainter and painted good pictures on the earthen wares made by his father, hence he adopted the non-deplume of Mání.[3]

Sám Mirzá also gives the accounts of the poet Maulána Nargisí. He states that the poet is Merví according to Majális-un-Nafá'ís and then opines that this statement of Amír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í is correct.[4] As a matter of fact Majálisun-Nafá'ís writes at more than one place Sháh Ismá'íl.[5]

(۱) مولانا نرگسی از هـری است [6] (۲) مولانا نرگسی کسی هروی است [7]

Sháh Ḥusain Sáqí was a great poet of Ṣafavid regime. Sám Mirzá writes that he was a voluminous reader and in poetry he was more inclined towards satires. He died in 941 A.H. Sám Mirzá does not write that Sháh Ḥusain Sáqí was a dárogha of Iṣfahán and that he was raised to the position of a minister during the reign of his father Sháh Ismá'íl.[8]

About Mauláná Sharíf, Sám Mirzá states that he was the pupil Mauláná Lisání. Sám Mirzá seems to have met this poet for he writes

1 Atash Kadāh, p. 112.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 114.
3 *Ibid.*
4 Majālis-un-Nafā'is, p. 241.
5 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 115.
6 Majālis-un-Nafā'is, p. 65.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 238. At one place the author of Majālis writes that Nargisī was from Marv, p. 81.
8 Atash Kadāh, p. 182.

that when he was in Ardabil in 956, Sharíf was also there where he fell victim to an epedemic that had spread there. Mauláná Sheríf was an important poet of his time. Among his works are his satire on Khwájá Ghiyáth-ud-Dín 'Alí and a qaṣida of apology.[1] Sám Mirzá omits or rather keeps silence about the fact that this poet compiled and edited the poems of Hátifí.[2] Mauláná Sharíf enjoyed the position of a Qáẓí under Sháh Ismá'íl.

Mauláná Sá'íl was also a noted poet of this period. Sám Mirzá includes his accounts in his Tuḥfá-i-Sámí. He writes that he was a native of a place in Damawand with which Ṣubḥ Gulshan also agrees, but Sám Mirzá does not write that the poet was brought up in Hamdán.[3] Sám Mirzá is also silent on his works. Sá'il had attracted many people including the rulers. It is said that when Muḥammad Khán Shaibání intended to conquer Khurásán he came to this poet, whose piety and saintly qualities he had heard. He came to him with intimates and attendants but the poet did not pay attention to him and kept busy in stitching.[4] This was an important point which is absent in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí.

Sám Mirzá is very brief in giving the account of Ẓamírí of Iṣfahán. Since this poet lived during Sám Mirzá's time there should have been no room for brevity. Sám Mirzá fails to acquaint the readers with the name of this poet which was according to Átash Kadáh, Kamál-ud-Din Ḥusain.[5] This poet was well-versed in astronomy, a fact which Sám Mirzá does not include in the Tuḥfa-i-Sámí. He adopted the takhllus of Ẓamírí.[6]

It is also futile to search for the works of this poet in Tuḥfá-i-Sámí. The poet Ẓamíri had composed several mathnavís, Viz. :

(۱) بہار و خزان (۲) ناز و نیاز (۳ حسنـته الا خبار (۴) وامق و عذرا
(۵) لیلیٰ و مجنون (۶) اسکندر نامه .

He had also composed several díwáns about which Tuḥfá-i-Sámí is completely silent. Ẓamírí had named his díwáns thus: Safina-i-Iqbál, Ṣurat-i-Hál, Kanzul-Aqwál, 'Ishq-i-Bezawal, Ṣaiqal-i-Malál, 'Azr-i-Maqál

1 Aḥsan-ut-Tawárikh, p. 339.
2 Browne, IV., p. 236.
3 Ṣubḥ Gulshán, p. 196.
4 Atash Kadáh, p. 326.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
6 *Ibid.*

and Qaus-i-Khayál.[1] He had also written díwáns in reply to S'ádi and Háfiz. His díwán Sihr-i-Malál is in reply to that of Háfiz while Khujasta-Fál was written in reply to Bábá Shahídí Qumí, and Lawámi'-i-Khayál in reply to Amír Humáyún Isfahání, Bidáyat-i-Wisál in reply to Mirzá Ashraf Qazwíní, Muntahá-i-Kamál in reply of Kamál Khujandi and Ma'ashúq-i-Láyazál in reply of Amír Khusrau, while, Husn Ma'ál in reply of Hasan Dehlvi.[2] It is really surprising that Sám Mirzá is so very brief about such a voluminous writer. Sám Mirzá's detail account of this poet, who was his contemporary, would have really been a valuable and more authentic source for the men of letters and student of Persian after him.

Sám Mirzá devotes few words to the poet Partaví Shírází. He does not write that he was held in high esteem and honoured by 'Alláma Dawwání. Partaví had also written a Sáqí Náma,[3] a fact which the biographer Sám Mirzá does not mention. The poet Partaví was also a physician, according to the author of Subh Gulshan.[4]

Reference has already been made to the fact that Tuhfa-i-Sámí has got manifold importance literary as well as historical. Sám Mirzá has really rendered a valuable service to Persian literature by his precious and unique contribution of his Tuhfa. The Tadhkira Tuhfa-i-Sámí brings to light the accounts of persons among whom were poets as well as others who wrote verses occasionally and showed their deep interest in Persian literature. It includes men of all ranks—rulers, princes, nobles, higher officials, and people of different profession. Sám Mirzá has thrown light on the poets of ninth and 10th century though he had been very brief in his writing. In some cases specially in 2nd matla' of the fifth Sahífa he has given passing remarks on the poets thus simply acquainting the readers with number of poets who lived during this time. In the absence of Tuhfa-i-Sámí the accounts of all the poets of his time would have been lost to us. Since most of the poets were his own contemporaries, Sám Mirzá's accounts are more authentic and fresh. It is through the scholarly efforts of Sám Mirzá, one knows more about the literary conditions of this time. He acquaints us with the poets, their poetry and their composition. In fact Tuhfa-i-Sámí presents the literary aspect of the Safavi period chiefly and partly lays open the then political and social conditions too. Most of the later writers have based their works on Tuhfa-i-Sámí chiefly as far as Safavi literature is concerned.

1 Atash Kadah, p. 185.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 279.
4 Subh Gulshan, p. 76.

Besides the poets, Sám Mirzá has unveiled the love and interest in persian literature shown by the rulers, princes and the nobles and their liberal patronage towards men of letters, which has already been referred to above. Tuḥfa-i-Sámí deserves special mention. In most of the Tadhkiras, one generally finds the accounts of poets who were connected with some patron or the other but Sám Mirzá has dealt with those poets also who led independent life and were busy in their respective profession and yet were keenly interested in poetry and composition. Its a different matter altogether that the kings when knew their poetry, extended their patronage to them out of sheer love for poetry and literature. Numerous examples of this are to be found in Tuḥfa-i-Sámí. Bábá Fughání was an ordinary man who was busy in his profession of Cutlery,[1] and yet evinced keen desire for poetry in which field he made so much progress that his verses appealed Sulṭán Ya'qúb who later patronised him much. Bábá Naṣíbí was also a poet of high calibre who in the beginning had no connection with the royal court. He was a confectioner and was doing well in his profession. Tuḥfa-i-Sámí mentions that he had a liking and great love for poetry and was a man of literary bent. This shows that people during this period were interested in poetry and literature and evinced great literary taste. The credit of this goes to Sám Mirzá who encompasses the poets of all classes irrespective of their social status. The rulers and grandees did not restrict their encouragement and patronage to the poets of noble birth only. Sulṭán Ya'qúb, a great patron is one of the glaring examples in this connection. Though a ruler he extended his liberality to many poets irrespective of position and dignity. Bábá Naṣíbí, a confectioner enjoyed his patronage:

بابا نصیبی در حلوا فروشی اشتغال مینمود اتفاقاً روزی بصحبت
سلطان یعقوبش بردند او را تربیت نمود [2].

Máni Shírází though was a goldsmith, was much inclined towards poetry and its composition. The glittering gold and diamonds did not haunt his mind all the time. Soon his fame as a poet spread like a wild fire and caught the attention of Sháh Ismá'íl who sent special farman and got him in his presence where under the royal patronage he spent his remaining days.[3] Sám Mirzá quotes the following ghazal of this poet:

حدیث درد من گر کس نه گفت افسانهٔ کمتر
و گر من هم نباشم در جهان دیوانهٔ کمتر

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 102.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 110.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

و گربی نام و ناموسم فراغ غم بیشتر باشد
و گربی خان و مانم گو شـه ویرانهٔ کمتر

از آن سیمرغ را در قاف قربت آشـیان دادنـد
که شد زین وامگه مشغول آب و دانهٔ کمتر

نکو بزمی است عالم لیک ساقی جام غم دارد
خوش آن مهمان که خورد از دست او پیمانهٔ کمتر

کسی عاشق بود کز آتش سوزان نه پرهیزد
براه عشـق نتوان بودن از پروانهٔ کمتر

مکن مانی عمارت و ز سرای دهر بیرون شو
برای این دو روزه عمر محنت خانـهٔ کمتر

The potters are supposed to be of lower category. Sám Mirzá in his Tuḥfa, mentions a poet who was the son of a potter and who showed great inclination towards poetry, and since he had gained mastry in writing verses he was patronised by Moḥammad Múmin Mirzá son of Sultán Ḥusain Mirzá in whose service he had later entered.[1] There were poets who were by profession bakers, Sám Mirzá very wisely records their accounts in his Tuḥfa. In this connection the name of Ḥaider, the baker is worthnothing whose notice is to be found in Tuḥfa-i-Sámí. Sám Mirzá writes that though he was busy in his profession of a baker, he wrote about 10,000 verses.[2]

Sám Mirzá's inclusion of poets of different trade, and profession shows his love for literature and universal brotherhood. He did not believe in caste, creed and colour. This is true when he writes the accounts of perfumer poet named Mauláná Abdál who was generally in the company of Sám Mirzá.[3] The literary taste and love for poetry was also to be noticed among the fruitsellers. Sám Mirzá in this connection refers to a poet S̲háh Ḥusain Sáqí who was a fruit seller and yet wrote verses. This love for literature and poetry was found among tailors too and thanks to Sám Mirzá who does throw light on a tailor poet named Hilákí Hamadání.[4] Similarly Ágáhí Yazdí was also a tailor and wrote verses.[5]

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 114.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
4 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī pp. 142-43.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Núrí Tabrízí was a man of double profession. Sám Mirzá writes that in summer he was busy in the profession of a water carrier while he used to sell honey in winter. About his love for poetry Sám Mirzá states that he was a poet and could compose verses. He had a wonderful memory and had learnt by heart many verses. Sám Mirzá also records the accounts of the poets who were silk merchants, coblers and cooks. Among the poets, mentioned by Sám Mirzá are in addition to above poets, blacksmiths also.[1] To be brief Sám brings into the compass of his writing the accounts of the poets of high and noble birth and of the lower category also, throwing the lights on the fact that people irrespective of caste, creed and colour and irrespective of their profession and status in life were inclined towards poetry and literature during the 10th century when Ṣafavids held the reigns of control and authority over Persia.

The historical importance of Tuḥfa-i-Sámí also deserves attention. During the accounts of kings, princes, great men and poets, Sám Mirzá acquaints or rather furnishes numerous events of historical importance, which sometimes are missing in the histories; while giving the accounts of Ismá'íl Ṣafaví, his father, Sám Mirzá briefly reviews his numerous conquests for he does not want to go into details for which he directs the readers to the already written histories.[2] Sám Mirzá states that S͟háh Ismá'il conquered Gilán and Láhiján in 905 A.H.[3] and then turned towards Ázarbáiján. He further writes that in 906 A.H. he defeated the Farráḥ Yasár and conquered S͟hírwán.[4] This was followed by the conquest of Tabríz where he defeated Alund Beg Áq Quyun lú in the subsequent year.[5] In the same year S͟háh Ismá'íl defeated Sulṭán Ḥasan, ruler of 'Iráq and Fárs. The year 909 A.H. saw the defeat of Ḥasan Kayú Murád Beg. Sám Mirzá also states that in 910 A.H. Yazd was conquered. In 912 A.H. the ruler of K͟hurásán was subdued and the following year witnessed the escape of 'Alá'ud-Daulah Zulqadr. Bag͟hdád was taken in 914 A.H. The whole of K͟hurásán was brought under subjucation in 916 A.H. In 917 A.H. the K͟hán of Transoxiana showed his allegiance by sending presents and gifts.

While giving the accounts of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá, Tuḥfá-i-Sámí states that he was a just king and had built many buildings of public utility. He always helped the learned men and the seekers of knowledge

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 11.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

by giving them monetary help. Sám Mirzá states that during his time there were 12,000 'ulamás who received scholarships from the Sultán.[1] Sultán Husain Mirzá was succeeded by his son Badí'uzzamán who mostly engaged himself in merry making. Seeing this Muhammad Shaibání made a sudden attack in 913 A.H. and defeated them. Sám further states that Badí'uzzamán fled towards the hot country and visiting 'Iráq and Astrábád he came into the service of Sháh Tahmásp and at his order he settled in Rayy.[2] From here he marched against Astrábád but sustained defeat by the Uzbeks who proved powerful and stronger than him. After sustaining this defeat he turned towards Hindustán where he wandered for one year. He returned to Khurásán where Sháh Tahmásp conquered it and settled in Shanb-i-Ghazan. He died in 922 A.H. of plague.[3]

About Farídún Husain Mirzá, Tuhfá-i-Sámí provides valuable information which can be of great importance to the student of history. It can be inferred from Tuhfá-i-Sámí that Farídún Husain Mirzá was well skilled in archery. He fought against the Uzbek but was defeated. He was taken prisoner and was killed in 929 A.H.[4] In 902 A.H. Badí'uzzamán rebelled against his father who sent Prince Muzffar Husain with a powerful army. Both the armies met in Astrábád with the result that Muhammad Múmin Mirzá was taken captive. He was for some time imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyázud-Dín where he fell victim to the malicious designs of Kkadíja Begum, mother of Muzaffar Husain in 903 A.H.[5] Sám Mirzá incorporates a verse which Muhammad Múmin Mirzá composed before he bid adieu to this world. Sám Mirzá writes thus:

چند یوم در قلعه اختیار الدین محبوس بود در شهور سنه ثلث و تسعمایهٔ ۹۰۳ خدیجه بیگم والدهٔ مظفر حسین که فی الحقیقته خمیر مایه فساد بود در وقتیکه پادشاه از جام غفلت بیهوش افتاد حکم قتل او کرد و نهال حیاتش را از پای در آورد .... در هنگام وداع زندگانی این مطلع را در بدیهه گفته:

ناجوانمردی که بیجرمم درین سن میکشد

کافری سنگین دلی گشت است و مؤمن میکشد[6]

1 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 15.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
6 *Ibid.*

About Bábur, Sám Mirzá writes that he lost Transoxiana to Shaibak Shaibání in 904 A.H. After thirteen years he reconquered Transoxiana with the help of Sháh Ismá'íl Safaví,[1] but could not restrain it and returned to Kábúl when he came to India.[2] Sám Mirzá at this juncture gives valuable and interesting information that during his conquests of India he got numerous wealth including gold, pearls and other valuables. Sám Mirzá further states that among these valuables were diamonds of thirteen maunds weight.[3]

Sám Mirzá refers to Humáyún's flight to Persia and his seeking help from his brother Sháh Tahmásp.[4] About 'Askarí Mirzá, brother of Humáyún, Sám Mirzá writes that he had the government of Qandhár for sometime. When Humáyún reached the Alkan he thought of rebelling but was pardoned by Humáyún who reached Alkan with the aid of Sháh Tahmásp.[5]

The accounts of Ya'qúb bin Hasan Beg, Khán, and 'Ubaid Khán are full of historical information. Though Sám Mirzá has given brief account of these rulers his information is more authentic and important.

Tuhfá-i-Sámí supplies numerous information about the political activities of the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl and Sháh Tahmásp. This information, of course, is spread over in the Tadhkira during the accounts of different persons. During the account of Mír 'Abdul Báqí, Sám Mirzá refers to an encounter between Sháh Ismá'íl and the ruler of Rúm that took place in 920 A.H. and wherein the above mentioned Mír was martyred.[6] Some of the information contained in Tuhfá-i-Sámí is rare and is difficult to find in the histories. While giving the accounts of one Amír Shams of Sáva, Sám Mirzá writes that Khwája Qabáhat was the royal surgeon of Sháh Tahmásp.[7] This is really an important point of information which adds to the value of the Tuhfá. A reference is also found regarding the Khurásán revolution of 925 A.H. when Sám Mirzá was two years old. Unfortunately Sám Mirzá does not give any details about the revolution.[8] Sám Mirzá while writing about a qasída of Mullá Saná'ulláh, refers to an historical point. He writes that each *misrá* or hemistitch of this qasída bears the date of the conquest of Shírwán, which is 944 A.H. It throws light on the fact that Sháh Tahmásp conquered Shírwán in 944 A.H.[9]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 54...
4 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 71.
5 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 99.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*, p. 107.
8 *Ibid.*
9 Tuhfā-i-Sāmī.

There was constant struggle going on between Ṣafavíds and the Uzbek Turks. Shắh Ismá'íl and Sháh Ṭahmásp were always busy against them. The reason was that the Ṣafavíds propagated and made Shí'ism the national faith. They were the champions of this faith. The uzbek Turks on the other hand were staunch sunnis. Tuḥfa-i-Sámí presents many such incidents and since Sám Mirzá himself was a Shí'a he defends the Shí'as. He very often refers to Shí'a-Sunní conflict where Shi'as gained victory and in case they were defeated Sám considers them to have died as martyrs. During the accounts of Mirzá Káẓí, Sám Mirzá writes that he died at the hands of Banná'í are also full of historical and political activities of the time. Sám Mirzá here refers to the great event that will always find place in the history of Persia. It is the Qarshí massacre. Mauláná Banná'í fell victim to this general massacre which was ordered by Amír Najm Shání. Moreover Sám Mirzá is also up-to-date in this matter so far as the date of this event is concerned. It was in 918 A.H.[1] During the accounts of the same poet Sám Mirzá states that the ruler Sulṭán 'Alí Mirzá in whose service Banná'í was overcame by another ruler named Muḥammad Shaibání.[2]

Geographically also the value of Tuḥfá-i-Sámí is great. Sám Mirzá gives essential and valuable information regarding the location of different places which are sometimes difficult to trace on the maps. The poet Darvísh Dahakí belonged to Dahakí. Ordinary it is difficult to know where this place is but Sám Mirzá very wisely expresses that it is a small place in Qazwín.[3] Similarly about the place Karra Rud, Sám Mirzá writes that it is one of the cities in Qum.[4] It is to be noted that Sám Mirzá does not give such information about places which are already well-known and famous.

Sám Mirzá's style is variant. He does not stick to one style. Sometimes he narrates the accounts of poets or other personages in most simple manner and plain words. Illustrations of those are plenty in his Tuḥfá *e.g.* the accounts of Bábá Naṣibí, Mauláná Shahidí and others. While giving the account of the poet Bábá Naṣíbí, Sám Mirzá writes that he is a native of Gílán whence he travelled to Tabríz and latter he engaged into the profession of a confectioner. One day

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-99.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, pp. 90-91.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

he was taken to Sultán Ya'qúb who patronised him. Sám Mirzá puts this in most simple and plain words. He writes this:

مولد او گیلانست و ازانجا بنیاد سیاحت کرده بـه تبریز افتاد
و ازانجا کـه عالـم فقر و نا مرادیست در حلوا فروشی اشـتغال مینمود
اتفاقاً روزی بصحبت سلطان یعقوبش بردند و او را تربیت نمود [1].

Sám Mirzá does not stick to his simplicity but at times he steps out of this and uses a bit difficult and descriptive language. He gives the account of Mullá Hilálí thus:

هرچند که از ترکان چغتایست اما در ولایت اسـتراباد نشو و نما
یافتـه و در غره ایام جوانی بعد از خروج تحت الشعاع طفولیت و نادانی
بصوب خراسان از افق شهر هری طلوع فرمودند و چون نور قابلیت و حیثیت
از جبین او لامع بود مستهلین او را بسان ماه عید می نمودند ...... القصه
بعد از قطع منازل فضایل و طی درجات خصایل هلال آمالـش بسر حد بدریت
رسید فی الواقع هلالی بود و از کثافت کسوف و خسوف و احتراق مصون و
بدر منیری از و سمت نقصان محروس [2].

Another thing that strikes one is the particular style which Sám Mirzá adopts while writing about the poets. He keeps in view the profession or the significance of the poet and accordingly uses the language. During the course of Banná'í, Sám Mirzá specially notes the significance of the word Banná'í which was the non deplume of the poet which he adopted because of the reason that his father was a mason. Sám Mirzá accordingly adopts the style which enhances the beauty of the book. When Sám Mirzá writes about the death of the poet. He expresses that during the massacre of Qarshí the edifice of Banná'í's life was demolished, thus playing on the word 'Banná'í'.

Hilákí Hamadání was the son of a tailor. Sám Mirzá adopts a suitable style. He writes thus:

پدرش خیاط بوده اما چون در ازل قامت قابلیتش را بخلعت استعداد
و کسوت رشد و رشاد آراسته انـد لاجرم سر رشته قبول بچنگ آورده و در
ذیل اهل فضل آویخت و بسوزن جد و جهد وصله تفاخر بر خرقـه آمال
خود دوخت

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 87.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

In spite of his persistent brevity Sám Mirzá some times enters into details unconsciously but when he realises this he wakes up and expresses his apologies for going astray from the path of brevity. All such time he uses the phrases 'In short', or 'Its mention will lengthen the accounts'. While writing about Gul-khaní and his wits and humours, Sám Mirzá states that such homour and wits are many but their mention will lengthen the subject:

همه موجب تطویل میشود.[1]

Sám Mirzá very often quotes verses of the poets. But he also realises that their mention will lengthen, the accounts. He stops and contends by quoting few verses. About Mauláná 'Alí Faidí's verses, Sám Mirzá writes that his díwans of Ghzals and qaṣidás comprise of 5,000 verses but by way of brevity he quotes one verse:

دیوان غزل و قصیده او پنج هزار بیت است و اینجا بیک مطلع اختصار کردیم.[2]

Sometimes Sám Mirzá feels to enter into details but refrains himself from doing so. About Jámí's poetry he writes that though his verses are worthy of detail discussion and demands mentioning but he contends by quoting few:

اگرچه اشتهار اشعار آبدارش زیاده از آنست که احتیاج بایراد داشته باشد بهمه حال این دو سه غزل و چند بیت از مثنویات او آورده باشد.[3]

Sám Mirzá condenses several details in a nut-shell in an interesting manner. He is both short and sweet. He presents the matter with great interest and thus never allow, his readers to feel tiresome. During the course of narration Sám Mirzá inserts information full of humour and interest that one feels reading it more than ones. This information is in keeping with the subject and based on facts. Alif Abdál was a homourous poet. Once an abyssinian named Gurzud-Dín, who was in the service of Ismá'íl Safaví demanded some money from the poet, who was sharp witted. He at once replied that Alif' (the first letter of the alphabet which is free from dotts), does not posses anything. Sám Mirzá further writes that when Ismá'íl was informed of this he was much pleased.

During the account of Gul-khaní Sám Mirzá mentions a joke which the poet cut at Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá who due to the attack of paralysis

1 *Ibid.*, p. 117.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 105
3 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 115.

was being carried on shoulder by the servants in the garden in Herát where Gul-khaní was also present. Sultán Husain wished him and inquired of him to which he replied that by God's grace he was alright and was not taken round on shoulders like a dead body:

روزی که سلطان حسین میرزا در خیابان هرات دو چار شد او شده بواسطه مرض فالج بر تخت روان سیر میکرد از کمال لطف باو گفته که هان مولانا چونی؟ گفته: الحمد الله دو پای روان دارم و سیر میکنم و چون مردها مرا برتخته نه خسته اند و چهار کس نمیگردانند .

At the same time it should also be noted that Sám Mirzá avoids to mention obscene jokes in his book. He himself writes that he does not like to include any obscene thing in his book although they are more famous. It also throws light on Sám Mirzá's literary taste. In his Tadhkirá Sám Mirzá refers to the jokes that were constantly exchanged between the poets Mauláná Hairatí and Wahidí Qumí and which became popular but he does not like to make mention of such jokes. He writes thus:

و اهاجی که بین او و وحیدی قمی واقع شد مشهور است اما از غایت رکاکت ایراد آن نتوان نمود .

Most of the poets, whose accounts are to be found in Tuhfá-i-Sámí were the contemporaries of its author. Hence the author himself was the chief source so far as the information and material were concerned. The author does not refer to any source for the poets. Of course, díwáns and other compositions of these men have been consulted by Sám Mirzá who very often quotes verses from them. There were few poets and personages for whom Sám Mirzá had to depend on other sources, for some of them lived before him or whose information could also be had from other sources. But such poets are few in number. The chief sources of Sám Mirzá's Tuhfá-i-Sámí are:

(1) Majálisun-Nafá'is;
(2) Majálisul-'Ushsháq;
(3) Daulat Sháh;
(4) Histories and other books; and
(5) Maktúbát, in addition to the very works of the poets and scholars discussed. Sám Mirzá very frankly mentions the names of his sources during the course of his writing. As mentioned, Majálisun-Nafá'is was one of the sources of Tuhfa. While giving the accounts

of the poet Mauláná Nargisí, Sám Mirzá derives information from the above source. He writes thus:

و آنکه در مجالس النفایس آورده........[1]

Similarly the source of information for Qází Mírak and Shaikh Najm is also Majálisun-Nafá'is.[2] For the poet Súsání also Majálisun-Nafá'is forms an important source.[3] Majálisul-'Ushsháq also forms another source. Sám Mirzá derives some material from the work for the accounts of Sultán Husain Mirzá. Daulatshah's Tadhkira is another important source of Sám Mirzá who benefitted himself from it. Sám Mirzá refers to this source while giving the accounts of the poet Amír Shaikh Nidhámud-Dín. He writes thus:

در تذکرة الشعرا مسطور است که........[4]

Besides, these, Sám Mirzá also took help from the letters which he received from his friends and other persons. After writing about Mír Mu'izzud-Dín Muhammad, Sám Mirzá quotes the following rubá'í from one of the letters written by the Mír to Sám Mirzá:

دریکی از مکتوبات که بمن نوشته این رباعی که زاده طبع ایشانست بوده که.

تا دور ز محفل جمالت شده ام   نومید ز دولت وصالت شده ام

پیوسته خیال تو بود مونس جان   شرمنده ز الطاف خیالت شده ام

Sám Mirzá also derived much information from different histories which he confesses in his own book. While writing about Muhammad Múmin Mirzá, Sám depends on some historical works:

بنابر اسبابی که در تواریخ مذکورست.[5]

Another history that formed a valuable source was Takmila whom Sám refers thus when he writes about Jámí:

صاحب تکمله گوید که پدرش مولانا محمد از محله در دشت اصفهان است.[6]

Sám Mirzá feels satisfied after he completed his Tadhkirá. He expresses his satisfaction in the end of the work:

بحمد الله که بر غم زمانه   بپایان آمد این دلکش فسانه[7]

1 Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 12.
2 Ibid., p. 182.
3 Ibid., p. 23.
4 Ibid., p. 14.
6 Ibid., p. 85.
7 Ibid., p. 190.

It seems that Sám Mirzá could not work at stretch but there were hindrances and obstacles due to which Sám Mirzá had to discontinue the work for some time to resume after intervals. In spite of such unfavourable circumstances Sám Mirzá stuck to it till its completion He expresses thus:

الحمد الله و المنة که باوجود کثرت موانع و هوان و قلت بضاعت وفور حدثان باتمام این جریده که بلا تکلف گلدسته ایست از گلستان کرام چیده و نو بهاریست در بوستان اجله اخوان و خلان سرکشیده توفیق یافت. چون مدتی بود که بنابر عدم توجه و مساعدت طالع و بخت این نو عروس حجله خیال گاهی از شقه چادر و اختفا روی نموده و بنابر تحریر من صنف فقد استهدف باز سر در نقاب احتجاب میکشید و گاه گاهی این بکر فکر سر از روزنه ظهور بر میزد و رخ مینمود و دیگر بار پس پرده انزوا مختفی میگردید تا آنکه درین اوقات فرخنده ساعات خلخال اختتام بر سر پای اهتمام افگنده سبستان وصال خر امیده [1].

Sám Mirzá seems to be much proud of his Tadhkirá. He reflects his feeling of pride and joy in the following couplet which he appropriately quotes:

لله الحمد که این طرفه نگار از پس پرده نموده دیدار [2]

Unfortunately Sám Mirzá does not mention the date when he completed his Tuḥfa. It was on this occasion when he expresses his feelings of joy and satisfaction he could have expressed the date of its completion. The absence of this information has set the writers thinking to fix the date of its composition. Before the date of composition is fixed its seems necessary to see when Sám Mirzá had started it. In the absence of information pertaining to this in other works the only source that remains in fixing up the dates of beginning and completion is the very work Tuḥfa-i-Sámí. Sám Mirzá's inadequate and unsatisfactory accounts of poets and others discourages one to trace the exact time when he started the work. About Qáẓí Mas'úd Sám Mirzá writes writes that at present he is on the throne of Rai. He does not mention the year.[3] Similarly about Amír Wáqifí Sám Mirzá writes that at present he is in Tabriz without mentioning the year.[4] About Sayyed

1 Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī, p. 191.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

'Alí Kamúnah, Sám writes that he is at present in the service of Sháh Tahmásp.[1] About Qází Shamsud-Dín Mu'allim also he writes without mentioning the year that at present he is 90 years old.[2] Such expressions are many. Moreover it is very difficult to trace even the names of these persons in other works which might have helped one to fix up the date of beginning of the work. In such darkness, in which Sám leaves his readers, it is difficult to proceed further in this direction. But there is one thing which is helpful to some extent. The notice of the poet ustád Dost Muhammad is of importance. Sám Mirzá writes about this poet that he is at present in Herát; he then entered the service of the ruler of Gílán and Sháh Tahmásp. He also writes that he went to Haj in 949 A.H. where he died.

و الحال در شهر هراتست و بعضی اوقات در شهر گیلان بخدمت پادشاه میبود بعد از آن در خدمت صاحبقرانی بسر می‌برد آخر بطواف رفته در شهور سنه تسع و اربعین و تسعمایة ۹۴۹ درانجا فوت شد.

This helps in stating approximately that Sám Mirzá began writing Tuhfa-i-Sámí before 949 A.H., regarding the date of completion of the Tadhkirá it should be noted that Sám Mirzá was still writing the Tadhkirá in 955 A.H. About Humáyún Sám, Mirzá writes that he is still (955 A.H.) on the throne of that country (India). He writes thus:

و تا اکنون که سنه خمس و تسعمائه هجریست برمسند سلطنت آن دیار متمکن است.[3]

This leads one to believe that the date of composition of Tuhfa-i-Sámí was either 955 A.H. or after that, but not earlier than that.[4]

[1] Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 45.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[4] Dr. Rieu and Prof. Browne mention it to be 957 A.H.

THE PERSIAN SCENE

By V. Courtois, s.j.

I. Politics.

Five International Accords.—The United Nations received early in January from Iran documents accepting five international agreements dealing with the control of opium, the suppression of slavery, and the circulation of educational materials:

Bahman Ahaneen, Counsellor of the Embassy, and Fereydoun Zand Fard, First Secretary, handed the following instruments to Stanlislaw Kiernik Acting Chief of the Treaty Section of the UN Office of Legal Affairs.

(1) The instrument of ratification of the Protocol for Limiting and Regulating the Cultivation of the Poppy Plant and the Production of, International and Wholesale trade in and Use of Opium, done at New York on 23rd June 1953. This protocol will enter into Force when ratified or acceded to by one more Opium producing country. Of the 36 countries which have ratified or acceded to the Protocol to date, two—India and Iran—are opium producing. The other producing countries are Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, the USSR and Yugoslavia.

(2) The instrument of accession to the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery, done at Geneva on 7 Septcmper 1956.

(3) The instrument of acceptance of the Protocol signed at Lake Success, N.Y. on 4th May 1949 amending the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, of 1904, and the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Traffic, of 1910.

(4) The instrument of acceptance of the Protocol signed at Lake Success, N.Y. on 4th May 1949 amending the Agreement for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications signed at Paris on 4 May 1910.

(5) The instrument of acceptance of the Agreement for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Character, done at Lake Success. N.Y., on 15th July 1949. (This agreement was sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

King Hussain visits Iran.—Early in April, King Hussain of Jordan paid an official visit to Iran and was received with great enthusiasm by the people. Addressing a joint session of both Houses of Parliament at the Senate Building on April 5th, King Hussain said:—

"The security of peace, justice and freedom and the attainment of the dignity of human rights can only be achieved in the unity of brotherhood under the banner of Islam." The King stated that Islamic nations were now being drawn closer to the realization of their long cherished desire to form a common front against the forces of suppression, cruelty and totalitarianism.

Islam advocates brotherhood and the love of humanity, His Majesty stated. It does not dictate force or compulsion. On the contrary it calls for mutual consultations, negotiations and cooperation.

King Hussain expressed his confidence that the principles of Islam and the strict adherence therein, were the answer to all cruelty, injustice and the disruptive forces in the world today.

The Monarch lauded the achievements of Iran through the guidance and sagacity of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah. He expressed his belief in the bright future ahead of the country and a further strengthening of the bonds of brotherhood between Jordan and Iran.

II. ECONOMICS.

1,500 *Peasant Families receive land.*—Title deeds creating 1,500 small land holders in the northern regions of Iran were distributed by His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah at a ceremony held at the Marble Palace on February 7. The lands to be distributed comprise of 10 villages of the Crown Estates situated in Shahi, Amol, Babol and Sari.

An informed source from the Development Bank stated that with the distribution of the 10 villages of the Crown Estates of February 7, only eight more villages belonging to the Crown Estates will remain for distribution in the Northern region.

Thereafter work for the distribution of the Crown Estates on the western areas of Iran will commence.

Land distribution in Iran.—Land distribution campaign has been going on in Iran since 1950. The idea was first conceived by the late

Reza Shah the Great who, twenty years earlier, had launched, on an experimental basis, the first ever programme of distributing agricultural holdings. This venture, however, did not produce the desired result and died a premature death, mainly owing to the fact that the recipients were mostly herdsmen and flock-keepers who led a nomadic life and were not easily susceptible to settled life or to the arduous pursuits of tilling and enriching the land. Consequently the land which practically lay fallow, was gradually resumed by the Government. This land which lay in Seistan, Khouzistan, Central Zone and Dashte-Moghan (Azerbaijan) had been divided into 36 thousand metre plots which have been placed at the disposal of the peasants free of charge. The basic and the fundamental idea behind this beneficent move was imbibed and initiated by the Shahanshah after the Second World War.

The Shahanshah ordered in 1950 that the bank called "the Development Bank" be established. This bank was entrusted with the responsibility of the distribution of Crown land. The Decree issued on this occasion clarified that the Crown land would be distributed amongst the peasants and that the sale proceeds would be utilised in setting up of Industrial and productive resources and benefit societies for peasants like the village cooperative societies and that the sources of production, in their own town, would constitute a Trust, whose income would be devoted to charitable purposes.

According to this Decree the Development Bank keeps on discharging the office of the previous owner of the land until the peasants themselves are capable of doing so.

Actually speaking, each and every village in the Pahlavi Estate gets the benefit of a cooperative society prior to land distribution. Immediately after transfer of land to the peasants, the cooperatives take over the village work and hasten to provide seed, fertilisers etc. In Crown Estates there live altogether 49 thousand families consisting of some 300,000 people. The cultivable land within the Estate comprises 53 thousand hectares. Apart from this figure 270 thousand hectares of land can be made cultivable by introducing the irrigational systems.

The distribution of land is preceded by aerial and ground survey, after which necessary statistics regarding men, cattle and the produce are prepared. This is followed by determination of units or holdings and then comes the eventual distribution by the drawing of lots.

The land is given on a 25-year lease basis. The Shahanshah remits

20% of the value of the land to the peasants and the rest is realised within a period of 25 years. No instalment exceeds Rs. 160/- per annum. The minimum being Rs. 30/- and in any case it must be less than one-third of the annual dues paid by the peasant to the previous owner. Moreover the payment of instalments starts from the second year and on receipt by the bank of development schemes. The Shahanshah does not derive any material gain and even the special interest accruing to the Bank of Development goes to the charitable purposes. Statistics collected from the already distributed land reveal that the income of the peasants has registered approximately a four fold increase. Their standard of living has gone up and in several cases it touches that of the middle class gentry. Today, they have such amenities as radio etc. and their household belonging are valued at more or less ten thousand rupees whereas their standard of living previously was very low and their emoluments worth a trifling.

So far the major portion of the Crown lands has been distributed and the process of distribution is likely to be completed by 1961. Recently 1,200 men and women received their deeds of ownership at the hands of Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and Queen Farah, which means that 25 thousand persons have become owners of land. Side by side with the distribution of Crown land, the Government, too, has embarked upon the venture set by the Development Bank. The Government of Iran is one of the biggest landowners of the country possessing 2,109 big villages which when distributed will make hundreds of thousands of peasants land holders. One of the greatest developments however, taking place vis-a-vis of land in Iran is that ceiling has been put on bigger land holdings. The relevant bill is being rushed through Parliament. This bill provides that no landlord in Iran will be allowed to possess more than 300 acres of irrigated and 600 acres of non-irrigated land. All extra holdings must be sold away to the peasants on long term lease. In view of the steps taken in the direction of setting up of cooperative societies, it is expected that distribution of private lands will also be achieved expeditiously and successfully. The Government has allocated nearly a sum of 300 million rupees for this purpose which is at the moment lying with the Agricultural Bank of Iran. This credit it gradually loaned away to the village cooperative societies so that long term small and moderate loans be granted to the peasants.

Currently the Agricultural Bank is engaged in multiplying the number of village cooperatives which has already gone up by 300 during the year 1959-60.

Iranian Oil Operating Companies.—

PRODUCTION STATISTICS

Total production, January through December, 1959 44,677,000 tons.
Total production, January through December, 1958 39,800,000 tons.

SURVEY OF ACTIVITIES DURING DECEMBER 1959

Exports

At Bandar Mashur, 97 tankers loaded nearly 2,466,846 tons of crude oil for export during the month under review.

Exploration

Geological parties completed work in the Buzpar-Bushgan area south of Kazerun and on structures in the Bandar Lengeh area. They are now working in the Seh Qanat area east of Gachsaran, and the Kuh-Safid area in Dashtestan.

The programme of the land gravity survey was completed. Preparations for the marine gravity survey are under way.

A topographic survey party, with helicopter support, started activities in the Gachsaran area. Similar work continues in the Ahwaz, Abadan and Bandar Mashur areas.

Testing of Binak Well No. 1 continued during the month under review. Ahwaz Well No. 6 was opened for long-term testing purposes, and the crude oil was delivered to the refinery.

At test well Kuh-i-Mund Well No. 2, the lower portion of the hole is being redrilled because of mechanical difficulties.

Preparations for drilling the Suru well near Bandar Abbas have started. As the equipment will be brought in by ship, a jetty is under construction at Birkeh Beach. The road to the location and foundation work on the site itself are progressing according to schedule. Unloading of the equipment has already started.

Development

Agha Jari Well No. 57, which was spudded in in August 1959, was completed as a producer well in the second half of December. Capacity of the well is estimated at about 30,000 barrels per day.

Drilling is steadily going on at Gachsaran Wells No. 25, 26 and 27, and at Agha Jari Well No. 58,

REFINING STATISTICS

Total throughput, January through December, 1959 15,442,000 tons.
Total throughpur, January through December, 1958 14,900,000 tons.

NEW INSTALLATION

It was announced by the Board of Directors of the Refining Company that a major addition to the facilities at Abadan refinery will be made by the construction of a catalytic reformer with a capacity of 20,000 barrels per day. The new plant will produce high octane components essential for the manufacture of premier quality motor gasolines. This addition to the refinery installations will ensure that the refinery's competitive position in the world market will be maintained as octane demands increase. It is estimated that the expenditure for this project will amount to about Rs. 500,000 and will be an addition to the 1960 Capital Budget. The design and construction are expected to take two years.

Export: During the month of December, 73 tankers loaded over 8,961,000 barrels of products at the refinery for export.

Processing: The Catalytic Cracking Unit which was shut down on 24th October, was put on stream again on 24th December. In these two months, normal maintenance work was performed and two major changes made. Both the regenerator and the reactor cyclone separators were replaced with modern multi-stage type cyclone equipment. Staff and labour are commended on their performance, working in shifts 24 hours a day.

As from 1st January, 1960, a new and improved quality of kerosene, made to N.I.O.C.'s specification, began to be delivered to N.I.O.C. for the Iranian market.

Refinery Operations: On 31st December, at 24.00 hours, a new crude metering installation was put into operation. This installation, the most up-to-date in design, guarantees a very high accuracy in metering the crude oil flowing into Abadan refinery at a rate of over 30,000 barrels per day.

Fruits: *Iran's 2nd biggest export.*—During 1337 (1958) fruits were Iran's second biggest export, with oil holding the first place, according to statistics published by the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies.

During 1337, the two major exports were oil products (crude and refined) amounting to 22,941 million rials and dried fruits amounting

to 1.624 million rials. Then came cotton totalling 1,494 million rials, and carpets totaling 1,323 million rials.

Other exports in order of importance were wool, various stones and plant gum.

Automobiles, Iran's 2nd biggest import.—Automobiles were Iran's second biggest import item in 1337 (1958) amounting to 3,833 million rials, according to official statistics issued by the Ministry of Customs. Metal wares led the way in 1337 with the total figure of 4,428 million rials.

Total dutiable imports during the year under review was 12,893 million rials. Total duty free imports during the same year amounted to 33,458 million rials, making total imports 46,351 million rials.

The third important import item in terms of value was sugar which accounted for 2,161 million rials of the country's imports. Then followed tea amounting to 1,491 million rials, imported from India, Ceylon and Indonesia; T.V. sets were placed 11th and totalled 69,330,000 rials.

Indian traders to buy Iranian Cotton.—Indian traders have offered to buy Iranian cotton, it was reported last January. This is said to be the first time that such an offer is received from India.

Iranian cotton has so far had a market in Europe, with Japan being the only Asiatic country that buys Iranian cotton.

Efforts have recently been made in connection with the proper standardization of Iranian cotton and thus the confidence of European buyers has been won. A letter recently received from European buyers by the Tehran Chamber of Commerce indicates the desirability of the standardization process.

India herself is a major cotton producer, exporting each year considerable quantities of cotton, also importing large amounts. Last year she exported 600,000 bales and imported 900,000 bales. Like Iran, India uses different kinds of cotton all of which she does not internally produce, hence her importing and exporting of cotton.

Iranian exports to Britain.—British expenditure on imports from Iran in 1959 reached a record total of some 57,220,000 pounds, according to the final returns for last year just published in London by the Board of Trade. The figure for 1959 represented an increase of about 1 million pounds on the 1958 total, owing in part to the greater range of Iranian products bought by Britain.

Although oil shipments continue to constitute the bulk of British imports from Iran, with a total of some 49,770,000 pounds in 1959, British markets for other Iranian products have also expanded, imports of cotton increased from 2,421,000 pounds in 1958 to 3,660,000 pounds in 1959; miscellaneous textile manufactures rose from 1,120,000 pounds in 1959 to over 1,400,000 pounds in 1959 and fur skins increased from 320,000 pounds in 1958 to 412,000 pounds in 1959. Britain also bought more than 920,000 pounds worth of Iranian fruits and vegetables during 1959.

Evidence of the continued economic expansion of Iran is also provided by details of British goods and equipment, worth more than 38,200,000 pounds, supplied to Iran in 1959. Machinery (other than electric) accounted for 11,170,000 pounds—an increase of nearly 1,400,000 pounds on the figure for the previous year; electrical machinery and appliances totalled more than 3,640,000 pounds.

During the year under review Britain also sent Iran road vehicles worth more than 5,900,000 pounds, including commercial vehicles valued at more than 1,550,000 pounds and bicycles at more than 1,000,000 pounds.

Other major items supplied to Iran include: chemicals (over 3,390,000 pounds), metal manufactures (some 2,800,000 pounds) iron and steel (over 2,250,000 pounds), rubber manufactures (some 1,370,000 pounds), and prefabricated buildings (over 1,000,000 pounds).

Among consumer goods the biggest increase was in woollen and worsted fabrics which amounted to 1,580,000 pounds during 1959 an increase of over 20 per cent on the 1958 figures.

Per capita income in Iran.—Statistics compiled by the Bank Melli in Iran shows that the per capita income in Iran is over 9,000 rials. This figure exceeds the 120 dollars determined by the United Nations mission, it was stated.

After final figures have been arrived at by the Bank, the U.N. will be corrected, it was stated.

The figures furnished by the Bank Melli are based on information collected from 32 towns, the reports of which run into 150 pages. Detailed information in every respect has been collected.

61 Per cent of Iranian own houses.—According to the Census Department, 61 per cent of Iranians live in their own houses. Approximately 18.9 per cent of Iranian families live in houses which they have rented. Another 16.7 per cent do not own a house but do not pay rent for the places they live in.

One third (32.7 per cent) of families live in housing units made of mud. A little over 32.2 per cent live in houses made of a combination of oven dried and sun dried brick. About 9.9 per cent have houses in which they have used only sun dried brick. Only 8.6 per cent of Iranian families live in houses which are entirely made of oven cocked brick and the rest (16.6 per cent.) live in housing units made of other materials such as stone, wood, canvas, mat and so on.

The following chart prepared three years ago shows the number of houses made of different materials:

Material	*Houses*
Brick (oven dried)	344,444
Brick (oven and sun dried)	1,283,151
Canvas	140,429
Wood	124,695
Mat	92,128
Brick (sun dried)	1,301,678
Other kinds	45,402
Undeclared	89,038
Total ...	3,985,245

The following is a round up of the situation:

Total Iranian families	3,985,245
Total houses owned by their residents	2,428,019
Total houses rented by their residents	751,674
Total houses occupied without rent	665,880
Undeclared	239,672

58 per cent of Iranians are farmers. Of all Iranian males over 10 years of age 83.9 per cent could be considered economically active. Among these only 2.4 per cent are looking for a job. The rest are already employed. The number of men who declared to be students reached 499,000 in the latest census. More than half a million Iranian males are considered as economically inactive. Those who live on the interest of their money or live on the money they receive as rent and also the retired employees, children and beggars are in this group.

House-wives

Among women older than 10 years 79.5 per cent are housewives (4,964,000), 186 thousand are students and 516 thousand of them are among the inactive group. Only 2,300 women are looking for positions.

Employment

Among 5,330,000 employed men 57.00 cent are farmers 14.4 per

cent are active in industry and production, 7.1 per cent are engaged in sales, 6.9 per cent in services and the remaining 14.6 per cent are engaged in personal, technical, vocational, official, mining, transportation, store keeping and various other activities.

Most women who work are industrially employed (44.2 per cent). Agricultural employees follow the above group (23.5 per cent). Almost 21 per cent are active in services and the remaining work in offices, mines, sales departments and excavating and transportation organizations.

The Nature of Employment

Of all Iranians who are older than 10 years 41 per cent work for themselves having no labourer in their employ. Those who receive wages and work for private businessmen comprise 38.1 per cent of the working group. Around 10.3 per cent of men work for their families without receiving payment. Those working for the government comprise 7.7 per cent of the group. Close to 1.2 per cent have employed one or two people to help them in their work. The percentage of those who did not declare their positions was 1.9.

How Iranians spend their money.—The Bank Melli has initiated an important step towards calculating the national income in Iran and towards establishing up-to-date standards for the present cost of living. The social and economic position of Iran will be analysed scientifically after the above steps are taken.

The year 1315 (1936) has for the past years, been considered as the standard year in Iran and every aspect of Iranian life has been compared with the situation then. The new calculations will dispose of the old standards and establish modern ones referring to the year 1337 or 1338 (1958 or 1959).

The preliminary investigations show that the cost of living quarters has risen more than anything else since 1936, an increase out of proportion to all other rises.

In 1936 an individual had to spend one fifth of his income to provide living quarters for his family. Today the same person spends one third of his income for the same purpose (the present data are not conclusive as yet).

Recent studies have shown that people of today spend more on amusements, trips and hygiene.

Among 3,600 families in 32 cities, who have responded to the

Bank's inquiries, 3,400 of their answers have been considered as reliable and useful.

Bank Melli started its investigations twenty months ago. A number of specialists were first trained under the supervision of American experts to obtain the necessary data. Questionaires were then prepared and sent to 3,600 families in 32 cities in Iran. Among these cities 12 had populations of 5 to 50 thousand, another 10 had populations of 50 to 100 thousand. The populations of the remaining ten cities were over 100 thousand.

In addition to the expenditures for food, clothing, living quarters, electricity and fuel three other major expenditures have been made by people during the past few years and especially in larger cities and towns. These are the expenditures for trips, amusements and hygiene.

The elements considered in 1936 have also been subject to great changes. The cost of living quarters, as mentioned before is one of these elements which have been subject to a rise from one fifth to one third and in many places to forty per cent.

The calculations will continue for six more months changing the standards from that of the year 1936 to that of 1958 or 1959.

Earthquake kills 300 in Iran.-- About 300 people were killed and 3,000 injured in a double earthquake which shattered the two south towns of Lar and Garash on April 25th.

Red Cross officials said that most of the dead and injured were women and children. The men were out working in the fields when the earthquake struck.

Lar, a tobacco and cotton centre, is 170 miles south-east of Shiraz and about 80 miles from the Persian Gulf. Its population is 17,000.

Foreigners visiting Iran.--Figures released by the Department of Statistics of the Government of Iran show that during the year 1337 the number of foreign nationals travelling to Iran had increased more than five times over the figures for the year 1336.

According to the official figures published 152,611 individuals entered Iran during the year 1337. During the same period 114,453 persons left the country.

As compared with the figures for the year 1336, which show that 27,547 entered Iran against 45,266 that left the country, it show that the number of persons visiting the country during the year 1337 was more than five times greater than the figures of the previous year.

Against this the figures for those leaving the country was just over twice the figure for the previous year.

Of the 152.611 persons entering the country 94,528 were Iranian nationals and the remaining were foreigners. Similarly out of the 114,453 that left the country 57,218 were Iranians and the others foreigners.

Statistics show that the foreigners arriving in and leaving Iran were nationals of 83 different countries.

Of the foreigners that visited Iran during the year 1337, 11,037 were Iraqis, 9554 were Americans, 6483 were Kuwaitis, 5853 were English, 5696 were Pakistanis, 2978 were Germans, 2208 were Afghanis, 2221 were French, 1492 were Saudi Arabs, 1289 were Italians, 1199 were Dutch and 1056 were Indians. The remainder were from scores of other countries.

A break-down of the persons who left the country during the same period shows that 10,779 were Iraqis, 8970 were Americans, 7376 were Pakistanis, 6925 were Kuwaitis, 5658 were English, 2484 were Germans, 2028 were French, 2018 were Afghans, 1164 were Indians, 1021 were Italians and the remainder consisted of different other nationalities.

Of the total arrivals and departures 35.754 arrived and 45.689 left by the Mehrabad Airport.

III. Education and Culture

Well-known Iranian Poet passes away.— Ali Esfandiari, better known as "Nima Yushij" the founder of modern Iranian poetry, died on January 6 at the age of 64. A master of Iranian verse and a scholar of Islamic history and philosophy, Nima created a "new" style in Iranian poetry, which made him famous throughout the country.

Born in Mazandaran, Nima was taught to read and write by the "mullahs" of his village. From boyhood he revealed his natural talent in composing verses. His revolutionary style and unusual compositions first came to the attention of the general public through irregular publications of his works.

Later, Nima's compositions were being published regularly by a local magazine. He has also composed poetry in the local dialect of his province.

The "new" style created by Nima has proved a source of instructions to numerous Iranian writers and poets with the result that a group of his ardent admirers have styled themselves the "Nima School."

Agatha Christie in Iran.—On a visit to Iran last March the well known British novelist Agatha Christie revealed that she intends to base a couple of her next books on an Iranian background. So far, she said her books were based on English life. She now intended to give the books a foreign background so that they be both interesting and informative.

Agatha Christie disclosed that her main interests were history and archeology and that writing police detective novels was only a source of occupation and income. She stated that she was well acquainted with Iran's archeological history and would therefore enjoy her visits to the archeological sites at Shiraz and Shush.

Referring to the successful technique adopted by her in her novel writing, Agatha Christie stated that it was a natural trend of readers to find justice prevailing over sin. Therefore, she said, she made it a point to see that the criminal was always brought to book.

Technical Institute inaugurated by the Shah.- His Imperial Majesty the Shah on 10th February inaugurated the Tehran's Modern Institute of Technology, an institution which trains teachers for secondary vocational industrial schools.

Located in the Alborz College campus, the new institute is composed of several modern buildings with all the equipment required for an up-to-date teacher's college.

The Institute was established through the cooperation of several organizations. The United States Operations Mission (Point 4) has contributed the necessary machinery and equipment at an over-all cost of 1,250,000 dollars. Point 4 also has made available to the Institute four teacher-advisers. A fifth American teacher will arrive shortly to join the faculty.

UNESCO has contributed technical assistance in planning the Institution and the Plan Organization has provided the buildings.

After successfully completing the required four-year course, graduates will receive the Master's degree, Engineer in Vocational Education.

Shah donates towards mosque in Taipei.—The first mosque to be built in Formosa will be opened in Taipei in the course of this year.

It is capable of accommodating 600 worshipers.

Donors toward construction of the mosque were the Shah of Iran, King Hussein of Jordan, Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and the late Crown Prince Abdul Illah of Iraq.

20,000 Moslems live in Formosa. Most of them went there during the exodus from the mainland in 1949 when the Chinese Communists overran the country. About 6,000 Moslems live in the Taipei area.

More people read and write in Teheran.—There are more people who can read and write Farsi in Tehran than in any other city in Iran according to the latest census. Almost 50 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women over 10 years of age in Tehran can read and write Farsi. Esfahan is second in having the highest number of educated men.

The census conducted 4 years ago showed that there were one million and nine hundred thousand people over 10 years of age in Iran who had received education to various standards. These comprised 14.9 per cent of the total population in Iran. Among these, 1.5 million held official certificates and diplomas the range of their education varying from the elementary school certificate to university degree. Nearly 700,000 of them were still studying at the time of the census. The statistics of two years ago showed that the number of students alone was 1.9 million which is quite promising as the expansion of education is concerned.

The expansion of education is considerably higher among men than among women. The results of the nationwide census testifies to that effect. That census showed that 22.5 per cent of men and 7.3 per cent of women over 10 years of age were of less educated.

About 400,000 people had received then certificates from private educational organization and the rest held diplomas and class certificates issued by the Ministry of Education.

Fars and Gilan women

A relative comparison between the number of educated people in each ostan showed that Isfahan and Fars were second and third after Tehran but Fars and Gilan rated second and third when the number of educated women alone was considered.

The following chart shows the number of educated people over 10 years of age in Iran:

Sex	*can read and write*	*can only read*	*total*
Men and women ...	1,910,636	197,836	12,784,037
Men	1,453,677	139,180	6,542,185
Women	456,959	58,656	6,241,852

Sex	*Can neither read nor write*	*undeclared*
Men and women ...	10,627,366	48,199
Men	4,929,293	20,035
Women	5,698,073	28,164

Relative conditions in ostans

The following shows the extent to which people of different ostans have received education:

Tehran rates first with a total of 33.5 per cent educated men and women.

Esfahan rates second with a total of 14.6 per cent educated men and women.

Tehran rates first with a total of 42.6 per cent educated men.
Esfahan rates second with a total of 23.9 per cent educated men.
Khuzestan rates third with a total of 21.5 per cent educated men.
Fars rates fourth with a total of 21.1 per cent educated men.

Tehran rates first with a total of 23.3 per cent educated women.
Fars rates second with a total of 6.5 per cent educated women.
Gilan rates third with a total of 5.8 per cent educated women.

Mazanderan rates fourth with 5.3 per cent, Khuzestan rates fifth with 5.1 per cent and Esfahan rates sixth with a total of 5.1 per cent educated women.



OURSELVES

The news of earthquake tragedy at Lar and Garash in Iran came as a shock to the members of the Iran Society. The Society conveys its profound regret and deep sympathy to the people and Government of Iran for the calamity that had befallen the unfortunate inhabitants of Lar and Garash.

The Council of the Iran Society at its extra-ordinary meeting held on the 6th May, 1960, adopted a resolution of condolence. The meeting was attended by His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandeh, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta, who narrated the heavy toll of lives that the earthquake had taken and the pathetic condition prevailing there.

It was also decided that the following message of sympathy be cabled to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iran, and the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran:—

> "The Iran Society learnt through the Imperial Consulate-General for Iran in Calcutta and the local newspapers about heart-rending news of earthquakes in Lar and Garash and the sufferings that have befallen the inhabitants of that place. The Society hereby offers its deep sympathy to the Iranian nation and specially to the afflicted and distressed people of Lar, and expresses its willingness in extending financial aid to the victims as far as possible, deeming it as a prime humanitarian duty."

The Iran Society has opened an *Iran Earthquake Relief Fund* and has already sent a sum of Rs. 1,000/- to the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran through the Iranian Consulate-General in Calcutta as help to the earthquake victims of Lar and Garash. This amount includes Rs. 500/- which was sanctioned from the Iran Society fund.

On the 9th April, 1960, Mr. M. F. Kanga, M.A., F.R.A.S. (Lond.), F.C.I., delivered an illuminating lecture on *The Place and Importance of Yashts Literature in Persian Studies* at the Iran Society. The lecture was well attended and presided over by Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Tehran).

We thank Mr. Kanga for his scholarly discourse. Our thanks are also due to Dr. Chopra.

Dr. M. Ishaque, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.A.S., General Secretary of the Iran Society, was on leave for about a month. With effect from the 22nd May, 1960. He had gone to Mecca to perform the *Haj* pilgrimage. We offer our heartfelt felicitation to Al-Haj Dr. M. Ishaque.

Mr. K. M. Yusuf, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Supreme Court of India, was appointed Acting General Secretary of the Iran Society to officiate during Dr. Ishaque's absence.

Dr. Ishaque has since returned and has resumed his duty.

APPEAL FOR HELP TO EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS OF LAR AND GARASH

The friends and well-wishers of Iran in Calcutta have received with a deep sense of sorrow and regret the news of severe earthquakes in the town of Lar and the village of Garash in Iran. On the night of the 24th April, 1960, severe earthquake tremors rocked the two beautiful spots of Iran and caused widespread destruction, damage and loss of lives. Practically two-third of the town of Lar have completely been destroyed, and the number of dead and injured are fairly large. At one place only fifty school-children who had assembled to celebrate the Children's Day were buried alive under the debris of the buildings. This heart-rending calamity has cast a gloom all over Iran.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran was very much pained to receive the distressing news of the earthquakes and at once paid a flying visit to Lar and Garash to look after the welfare of his unfortunate subjects. His Majesty issued necessary orders for providing immediate relief to the victims and for expediting the relief work as well. The emergent relief works were carried out under His Majesty's direct command and supervision. Her Imperial Majesty Queen Farah Diba Pahlavi has graciously accepted to take under her direct care and patronage all the orphan children of Lar and Garash who have lost their parents in the earthquakes. Her Royal Highness Princess Shams, Chairman of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, is rendering all possible help to the victims of Lar and Garash. The Imperial Government of Iran is receiving help and messages of sympathy from all over the world.

The Iran Society appeals to its patrons, members, well-wishers and readers of the *Indo-Iranica* as well as the friends of Iran all over India to extend their generous help to the earthquake victims of Lar and Garash. Donations may kindly be sent *either* to the Consulate-General for Iran in Calcutta at 1, Gurusaday Dutt Road, Calcutta-19, *or* to the General Secretary, Iran Society, 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Each donation will be gratefully received.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ROMANCE OF THE RUBAIYAT—Compiled by A. J. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic, Cambridge University. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1. Pp. 244 Demy Octavo. Cl. Bd. with dust cover. Price 25 Shillings. 1959.

In 1959 centenary celebrations of the first appearance of Fitzgerald's versified English translation were held in Iran, United States of America, United Kingdom and many other countries of Europe and the book under review is a publication in commemoration of this celebration.

The one-penny edition of Fitzgerald's translation published in 1859 attracted scant attention of the English-speaking world and was cast among the 'remainders' by the publishers soon after its publication. By accident, someone told Rossetti about the *rubáiyát* and Rossetti told Swinburne, who recounted to Lady Burne-Jones, and spontaneously there started a universal approbation of this great literary adventure of Fitzgerald. Swinburne was actually captivated by the *rubáiyát* and he began to write in the Omarian style. In the early years of its appearance, Fitzgerald's presentation of Omar was commonly considered to be original composition and the poet's identity remained an unsolved enigma. John Ruskin, the famous American philosopher and litterateur, was so enamoured of it that he boldly wrote, "I never did- -till this day--read anything so glorious, to my mind as this poem—and that, and this, is all I can say about it--More—more—please more."

Hauntingly mystic and bafflingly protean have been the theories propounded about Omar Khayyam eversince he has been introduced into the West by Fitzgerald. The genius of Fitzgerald brought into being a regular Omarian philosophy which appeared to be so akin to epicurean in its outlook. Omar was better known as a philosopher, a mathematician and a logician in his own Muslim world by virtue of his Arabic works on these subjects, but hardly anyone recognised him as a towering poet in Persian, capable of enunciating a hitherto unknown, bold, revolutionary and apparently infidel epicurean aspect of philosophy which had no religious sanction at its back. Omar, like all other Persian poets, had expressed himself at random and incoherently on various heterogeneous phases of life and gave them the shape of *'rubáiyát'* which are to be found varying in number from 75 to more than a thousand ascribed to Omar in editions ranging in worth from four annas to two hundred rupees translated practically in all the civilized languages of the world.

The book under review gives a brilliant account of the history of this composition of Fitzgerald's and how he ventured to go away from the 'beaten track' of translations of Persian classics. It must be said to the credit of Edward Herron Allen, who in 1899 first of all tried to locate the Persian originals of these *'rubáiyát'* and set at rest the speculations about the original source of Fitzgerald. Professor Arberry, the doyen of the Orientalists in the West today and a compiler of not less than a dozen books on Arabic and Persian literature and philosophy, has rendered a unique service to Omar Khayyam and Fitzgerald both by collecting all the available material pertaining to this monumental and classical work and putting it together as a tribute paid to the poet and the translator on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the first authentic appearance of the *'rubáiyát'* in English verse,

How Fitzgerald got interested in Persian literature through the affectionate guidance of Professor E. B. and Mrs. Cowell and how he sounded the depth of his Persian scholarship by first bringing out a translation of Jami's *Salámán-O-Absál* and which particular manuscripts of Omar Khayyam were made available to him for translation and how he westernised the sequence of the *'rubáiyát'* from 'Morning' to 'Empty glass' was a romance yet undisclosed which is now being given to the world a hundred years after its first appearance by Professor Arberry in his inimitable style.

Calcutta played a vital role in the composition of the English translation as Prof. E. B. Cowell after initiating his disciple in the Persian lore, came to Calcutta in the capacity of a professor of history in the Presidency College wherefrom he sent to Fitzgerald a copy of the Persian manuscript then to be found in the Asiatic Society and it was from Calcutta that Prof. Cowell sent him the relevant directions to guide him in his noble venture. The book under review luckily gives a detailed story of the whole episode.

The first edition of the *'rubáiyát'* as it appeared in 1859 is also given with its original 'Introduction' and notes. The preliminary essay is historical and appreciative, the 'introduction' and appendix are documentated, the table gives a comparative study of various editions, the notes provide the original Persians source and the 'bibliography' gives a comprehensive list of research-books which have dealt with the English translation of the *'rubáiyát'*.

Few illustrations that embellish this commemoration edition, are an additional attraction. All lovers of *'rubáiyát'* will surely feel a treat in going through the pages of this 'romance'.

The get-up of the book is excellent and is in conformity with the tradition of the world-famous publishing house of George Allen & Unwin.

DR. HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

FROM A PERSIAN TEA-HOUSE— By Michael Carroll. Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. Pp. X + 208 Demy Octavo. Cl. bound. Dust cover, Price 21 Shillings. 1960.

This maiden effort at diary-writing of 25 year old Michael Carroll, who spent first nine years of his life in India where his father was Administrator of a native state, is an individual incident with uninhibited friendly people of Iran observed by an eye quick to sieze on charm, oddity or hilarity. The Iranian life according to Michael Carroll begins socially in a tea-house and the foreign travellers try to study the same at this source, which is replete with traditional customs and modern amendments. 'Always go—always come back' as propounded by a character, Hassan, in the book, is the life in Iranian atmosphere. The capacity of observation of this youngman is marvellous and promises a brilliant future for him in the field of letters.

A novice in the sphere of travel and literature as Michael Carroll is, his vision is at times blurred or obsessed. He jumps immediately to generalise his conclusions, whereas every Iranian is an individualist and to judge the characteristics of a nation from the study of an individual is rather much, too much. His assertion that Chess originated from China is historically wrong. Chess or *Chat-rang* went from India to Iran as is described in ***Chat-rang namak***, *Shahnama* and many other books dealing with old Iranian traditions.

The days of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. are much remembered by the Iranians and they are frequently reminded to them by their erstwhile British friends who themselves sometimes feel like recollecting those palmy days of their hold on the economy of the country which has now liberated itself from all foreign domination under the sagacious leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran.

"Persians have never sacrificed utility to beauty"—(page 10) makes one feel hopeful about the objective view which the Iranians have started taking even in things mundane. Beauty and utility complement each other and one cannot be separated from the other. Every fourth shop in Teheran is that of a florist or a dealer in cosmetics and the Iranians know how to harness beauty with utility and *vice versa*. The writer has maintained his stress on those spots which need quick reform, and it becomes more than evident that the book is written with a definite purpose to reform the people. The motive in writing the book is laudable and the picture of modern Iran is accurate to some extent. Luckily, the visit of the reviewer to Iran synchronised with that of the author of the book and he can safely vouch for the partial accuracy of it.

The retrieval of the author's lost papers and things in Teheran make him rather shudder and he denounces the deterrent punishment administered by the police to the culprit in the recovery of those things. The confession of the guilt in the East is not an easy task, but the custodians of law and order know it full well how to get it. If those methods were not employed, it was not possible to get back author's stolen goods from the pilferer. Shopping is also a regular art with the Iranian and it stands all foreigners in good stead everywhere, if they choose to learn it by their contact with the Iranians.

A brilliant description of Iranian ways and manners, habits and customs as given in the book under review, is absorbing and interesting. Here and there, a tinge of satire is presented sugar-coated and the young author should be congratulated for his outspoken yet cautiously-expressed honest views about Iranians. The venue that he has chosen for his activities is that of a tea-shop and in Iran, tea-shop-gossip is an institution by itself which is firmly backed by tradition and the author has exploited this handy place of activity to its fullest extent. The language employed is flowery and captivating and the description lively.

Get-up of the book is also very good with some beautiful photographs. All lovers of Iran need study this useful travel-diary.

DR. HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

SANDALS AT THE MOSQUE—By Kenneth Cragg. Published by SCM Press Ltd. 56, Bloomsbury Street, London. Pp. 160. Cl. Bd. Price 12|6. 1959.

In the work under review Dr. Kenneth Cragg, a Christian student of Islam, invites Christians to explore in his company the religious world of Islam, taking them first to a Friday prayer in a mosque and listening and pondering the meaning of a Muslim sermon The author seeks to show Christians the Christian meaning of the depths of Muslim religious thought and experience, and how in that setting to preach the Gospel in the humility which befits the adherents of Christ. The reader needs no previous knowledge of Islam. A glossary of Arabic religious terms and a bibliography for further study are an ample guidance for an earnest aspirant.

DR. HIRA LALL CHOPRA

JADÍD FÁRSÍ SHA'IRÍ (1959), a critical appreciation of Modern Persian Poetry, in Urdu. By Dr. Munibur Rahmán, M.A., D.Phil. (London). Published by the Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 5.50 nP.

In this small but precise volume, Dr. Munibur Rahmán has selected a number of poets—Maliku'sh-Shu'ará Bahár, Abu'l-Qásim Láhútí, Mírzá Muhammad Farrukhí Yezdí, Abu'l-Qasim 'Árif, Íraj Mírzá, Mírzádah 'Ishqí, Poetess Parvín I'tasámí, Nímá Ushij, Parvíz Khánlarí and others—in order of their poetical merit and has commented on the standard of their works. Efforts have been made by him to present a well-balanced picture of the modern Persian poetry as well as the trend of mind of modern Persian poets towards realism and with regard to the various problems existing in Irán—political, social, economic, educational, cultural etc.

The study of the *Jadíd Fársí Shá'irí* may impress one about the author's sound critical knowledge of modern Persian poetry and the way he has grasped the central themes of the poetry of the modern Persian poets. But the learned author has escaped to mention some of the eminent poets like Muhammad Husain Shahryár, Muhammad Hasan Rahi Mu'ayirí etc. The former in the opinion of Maliku'sh-Shu'ará Bahár is not a pride for Irán alone but for the East, while the latter has been accepted by the critics as a poet of very high order. Dr. Munibur Rahmán's attempt, however, is an improvement and deserves special attention.

The book contains many minor printing mistakes which could have been rectified with a little effort, though the get-up is up to the mark.

ATA KARIM BURKE

MAJMÚ'A-I-ASHA'ÁR (a collection of Persian Poems), by Mauláná Muzaffar Shams Balkhí, edited with an Introduction (life and work of the Mauláná), by Prof. Syed Hasan, M.A., Dip. Ed., published by the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian, Patna, (1958), Pp. XX+96. Price not mentioned.

The book under review consists of a Preface, an Introduction (with bibliography) and the text.

Mauláná Muzaffar Shams Balkhí was a renowned Súfí-poet and writer of Bihár who flourished in the 14th century A.D. From the "*Wafát námáh* of *Sharafu'd-Dín*" by Zain Badr 'Arabí (Agra ed. p. 23.) and from manuscript copy of the *TAHQÍQÁTU'L-MA'ÁNÍ* (Sayings of Hazrat Mauláná Sháh Amún Ibráhímpúrí, available from Sháh Najmu'd-Dín Ahmad of Bihársharif Khánqáh), by Mauláná Arzání, the son and successor of Sháh Amún, it appears that Mauláná Balkhí occupied a very prominent place. He was mentioned "Khalífáh-i-A'zam" of Hazrat Sharafu'd-Dín whose list of distinguished disciple-companions included men like Qázi Shámsu'd-Dín, Mauláná Sharafu'd-Dín, Mauláná Ibráhím Hazrat Mauláná Sháh Amún Ibráhímpúrí etc. After the death of Makhdúm Sharafu'd-Dín, the right of Shams Balkhí's succession to the "Sajjádah" was reserved, as he was then out of India.

The geneological table of Mauláná Balkhí as given in the Introduction of the book under review seems to be incomplete. The *Tahqíqatu'l-Ma'ání* gives the geneological table as follows:—

شاه مظفر بن شاه سلطان شمس الدين بن سلطان على بن سلطان حميد بن
سراج الدين بن محمود بن سلطان ابراهيم بن ادهم بن سيد سليمان بن سيد

ناصر الدین بن محمد یعقوب بن احمد بن اسحاق بن زید بن محمد بن قاسم بن
علی اصغر بن امام زین العابدین بن امام حسین شهید بن علی کرم الله وجهه .

Prof. Syed Hasan in writing the 'life and work' (Introduction) of Mauláná Balkhí and in collecting and editing the poems of the Mauláná, has utilised the original sources, both manuscripts and printed works.

It is difficult to agree with Prof. Hasan's remark that "as a poet Mauláná Muzaffar does not rank very high. Though a contemporary of Háfiz, his poetry lacks colour and grace." Háfiz, no doubt, had been the greatest among all the poets of Persian ghazal, and no one can be given a place equal to him but the reviewer is convinced that the poems of Mauláná Balkhí are of no mean order; they are rather sublime and meritorious. In support of this contention some of the verses of the Mauláná are quoted below:—

بولایت محبت سفریست عاشقان را
بجهان چه دید آنکس که ندید آنجهان را

بهر سو عاشقان جامه دریده
هنوز آن روی زیبا در نقابست

هر زمان داغ دلم را نو بهاری دیگر است
ز آنکه اندر گلستانم گلعذاری دیگر است

گر جهان را سربسر نقش و نگارستان کنند
درمیان جان ما نقش و نگاری دیگر است

شمع را شبها اگرچه هست در پیشش گداز
ز آتش هجر تو جانم را گدازی دیگر است
خسروان جاه و حشمت در جهان هستند لیک
دولت عشق تو" برهان "سرفرازی دیگر است

میرود از فرط شوق بوی زلفت دل و لیک
در شب تاریک در راهی همی بوید که نیست

در قصر خوشی دنیا ای خواجه مشو ایمن
کاندر ته هر خشتی او مار دیگر دارد

از زلف دراز تو یکتار بیابم گر
این عقل چو وحشی را در دام در اندازم

Thus we see that most of the poems of Mauláná Balkhí appeal to the mind and heart of a scholar. The book as a whole is a good piece of mystic literature and its publication may well prove to serve some useful purpose.

The get-up is good and the text is nicely printed, but the printing of the Introduction, which is in English, is not up to the mark.

ATA KARIM BURKE

اخلاص و ارادت از صفاتی بوده که قاضی ما بدان علاقه داشته و توصیه فرموده.
در مقامات خویش بارادت و اخلاص دعوت کند و برای آن داستانی زند و از خطاب
خداوند بموسی یاد آور شود :

''شربت مکالمه را سینهٔ صافی باید و طعام مؤانست را معدهٔ جافی شاید[۱]''.

عرفان قاضی

قاضی حمیدالدین معتقد است که اول می‌بایست علوم ''ربیعی'' آموخت و سپس بسیر
و سلوک پرداخت، علوم ''ربیعی'' آنقدرها پایه اش بلند نیست ولی برای اینکه بعرفان
راه یابیم ازین پله باید بگذریم : ''شناختن شعر ''لبید'' و ''ولید'' و دانستن انساب
و احساب ''بنی قحطان'' و ''بنی شیبان'' علم‌منجی و منجح و تجارت موافق و مربح
نیست ... و این هر دو در پلهٔ الراسخون فی العلم بس سنگی ندارند و بر محک
الراجحون فی الفضل بس رنگی نه ... چون از آن عالم درگذشتی و این بساط عریض
در نوشتی، قدم مجاملت در کوی معاملت نهادی هیچ طبقه ای مناسب افعال تر از
طبقه متصوفه نیستند[۲]''.

قاضی حمیدالدین پس از آنکه از تحصیل علوم ''ربیعی'' فراغت جست بعرفان و
تصوف گرائید. ولی پیش از آنکه در آن حلقه درآید در انجمن‌ها بطور سامع
حضور مییافت.

''بهر وقت که زمره‌ای از ایشان بهم بودندی و طایفه‌ای درگوشه‌ای بر آسودندی
من نظارهٔ آن جمع و پروانهٔ آن شمع بودمی و بجاذبهٔ طبیعت کم کم درکار میکشیدمی
و بمطیهٔ نفس عشق را اندک اندک دربار می‌آوردمی تا آنزمان که نقطهٔ دل چون
نقطه در دایرهٔ پرکار بماند و آفتاب تردد بر سر دیوار، دل آثار آن طریقت اختیار کرد و
همت بزاویهٔ آنخدمت فرود آمد گفتم صاحب طریقی بایستی که مر خرقه پوشیدن را
اضافت بدو بودی و حوالهٔ این عروس و ضیافت بوی شدی تا ببرکت دست او درین
زاویه مقام یافتمی و درین شیوه آرام گرفتمی[۳]''. (باقی دارد)

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۱۲۳.

۲ ایضاً ص۹۴.

۳ ایضاً ص ۹۶.

از ظریفان و فرقه‌ای از حریفان چون باد صبا از صف بصف و چون بادهٔ مصفا از کف بکف میگشتم و بساط نشاط را با قدم انبساط مینوشتم و با دوستان در بوستان از سر طیش و عیش میگشتم [۱]".

و نیز گوید: "مراتب سببی مقدم است بر قرابت نسبی و لحمهٔ فضلی و ادبی زیادت است از عرقی و عصبی که از مراتب سببی نسیم نسبت آید و از قرابت نسبی خصومت زاید [۲]".

هرچند مدارکی در دست نیست که قاضی تهی‌دست بوده و یا روز بدی در زندگی داشته، ولی دور نیست که در آن سفرهای دور و دراز رنجی بخاطرش راه یافته باشد یا روزی نادار شده باشد هرچه باشد مقامات او میگوید تهی‌دستی را میپسندیده و از آن ننگ و عار نداشته:

"ای گرسنگان با دریوزه و ای تهی‌شکمان پیروزه خوش باشید که اجوع یوماً و اشبع یوماً صفت انبیاء و نعت اولیاست که آخر دنیا منتهای همت کوران است و علف مدّخر عالم مبتغای طبیعت ستوران [۳]".

قاضی حمیدالدین با آنکه زندگی اعیانی داشته بنو و کهنه دنیا بی‌اعتنا بوده و لباس‌های فاخر مخصوص زنان و مخنّثان میشمرده.

از نو و کهنه بصورت برهنه و از قصب ممزّج بمعنی متوّج و مدوّج تاج و دواج سبب رواج مؤنّثان و مخنّثان است نه پوشش مردان میدان [۴]". "هرکه نه بجامهٔ علم پوشیده است بیجامه است و هرکه نه بعمامهٔ علم آراسته است بی‌عمامه [۵]".

قاضی ما مرد بوده و او مردی را میپسندیده:

لنا الفرس حجل و الجیاد سریر　　لنا السیف شنف و الحدید حریر [۶].

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۱۹۵.　　۲ ایضاً ص ۱۲۲.
۳ مقامات حمیدی مقامه چهاردهمین چاپ تهران ص ۱۲۲.　　۴ ایضاً ص ۱۲۳.
۵ ایضاً ص ۱۲۳.　　۶ ایضاً ص ۱۲۳.

جان من عین فرض و فرض عین بود و انقیاد حکم او بر ذمه من قرض و دین [۱]''.
ولی آنمرد که بود ؟ . دور نیست که اینهم خود او باشد که در داستانها بنام دوست مجهول بحیث پهلوان مقامه رول میبازد . بعبارت دیگر این همان عزم یا وجدان علمی قاضی است که امتثالش برو واجب بوده و باعث بمیان آمدن مقامات حمیدی گشته .

اخلاق و روش زندگی قاضی

دریافت خصوصیات اخلاق و روش زندگی قاضی حمیدالدین کاریست مشکل چه آنکه طوریکه در ابتدای این بحث گفتیم این طرز بیوگرافی نویسی که دارای معلوماتی راجع باخلاق و طرز زندگی مردی باشد بین تذکره نویسان و مؤرخین ما مروج نبوده ' بنا بر آن از آن منابع نمیتوانیم بحل این اشکال موفق آئیم . منبع دیگری که در دسترس ما باقی میماند همانا خود مقامات است که تا اندازه راه را هموار میسازد .

قاضی حمید الدین مردی است متواضع و شریف طبع' غرور را در زندگی نمیپسندیده و از آن در مقامات خویش جداً ممانعت نموده :

شراب ناب خور از جام آفتاب فلک   بعشوه‌های غرور سراب مست مباش [۲].

و نیز گوید : ''ای بدخول آبی موجود شده و ای بخروج بادی معدوم گشتهٔ این چه باد ریاست است و آتش سیاست که نه بر غرفات سقف گیتی تختهٔ وقف تست و نه بر شرفات ایوان عالم ارقام نام تو [۳]''.

قاضی حمید الدین مردی بوده خوش مشرب و با دوستان و آشنایان بخوشی روز می‌گذرانده با دوستان صمیمی بوده و با آشنایان یکدل . و هم مسلکانش را از خویشاوندان برتر میشمرده: ''من در غلوای این غرور و خیلای این سرور با زمره‌ای

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ٦ .

۲ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص۱۱۹.   ۳ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص۱۲۱.

قصایدی در دیوان انوری از قاضی حمید الدین در ستایش آن شاعر نقل کرده اند، ولی آیا انوری بیش از شاعري سخن سرا و سخن شناس و سخن دوست چیزی هست ؟ و گفته های قاضی در پاسخ قصاید مدحیه او در حق خود آن بزرگ مرد نیست ؟ .

در اینکه قاضی حمید الدین مرد محتشمی بوده شبه نیست که این بحث پیش ازین شد، پس چه طور شاهان و شاهزادگان و امرا میتواند در نگارش و تدوین آثار قاضی مؤثر واقع شود ؟ .

چون این تاثیر از آثار قاضی نفی شد قاضی میماند و تاثیر علم، یعنی اثر برای اثر یا علم برای علم و این یگانه محرکی است که باعث بمیان آمدن آثار قاضی شده .

قاضی حمید الدین وقتی بیکار میماند بمطالعه کتب نفیس شب و روز میگذراند تا اینکه بمقامات ''بدیعی'' و ''حریری'' بر میخورد و بروان آن دو بزرگ مرد که چنین اثری از خود بیادگار گذاشته‌اند درود میفرستد . ولی از آنجائیکه این هر دو مقامه سابق و لاحق بعبارت تازی و لغت حجازی ساخته و پرداخته شده بود، آل عجم از نکات غریب بی نصیب بودند و پارسیان از لغات عجیب بی نصاب . قاضی متأسف بود که در فارسی چینن اثری نیست و از آنجائیکه :

با یار نوا ر غم کهن باید گفت — لابد بزبان او سخن باید گفت
لا تفعل و افعل نکند چندین سود — چون با عجمی کن و مکن باید گفت[1]

بصورت این اقتراح صورت این الواح پیش می‌نهد و این قفل عقل بدین مفتاح میگشاید .

راست است که قاضی حمیدالدین میگوید : ''بفرمود مرا آنکه امتثال امر او بر

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۷ .

و "حریری" دو نفر نویسنده تازی که درین راه بر او سبقت جسته‌اند استفاده کرده خود گوید :

" تا وقتی بحسن اتفاق در نشر و طی آن اوراق به مقامات بدیع همدانی و ابوالقاسم حریری رسیدم و آن دو برج غُرر و درج دُرر بدیدم با خود گفتم صد هزار رحمت بر چنین نفسی باد که از انفاس او چنین نفایس یادگار بماند و چندین عرایس در کنار روزگا نشاند [۱] " .

طوریکه دیدیم مقامات "بدیعی" و "حریری" متفقاً مورد استفاده قاضی حمید الدین در نگارش مقاماتش بوده . "ملک الشعرای بهار" این سخن را تائید کند [۲] . نظر قاضی ما چنانکه ملک الشعرا میگوید بمقامات بدیعی بیشتر بوده نسبت بمقامات "حریری" چنانچه بیست و دومین مقامه بنام "المقامة الثانیه والعشرون فی السکباج" از بیست و دومین مقامه "بدیعی" که المیضریه نام دارد با تغییر عبارت ترجمه شده [۳] . و همچنین مقامات دیگر او، با استفادهٔ زیاد از مقامات "حریری" نگاشته شده .

منبع دیگر قاضی حمید الدین را در نگارش مقاماتش، ما باین دلیل تجربیات و مشاهدات خود او میدانیم که در خاتمه کتابش از خوانندگان برای نقل حکایات ناشنوده و نابوده پوزش میطلبد و طلب مغرفت میکند [۴] . چون از نقل داستانهای ناشنوده و نابوده عذر خواست معلومست آنچه نوشته یا دیده یا شنیده .

مدرک قاضی حمید الدین در تالیف آثار

قاضی حمید الدین را نمیتوان مرد درباری دانست، زیرا در هیچ یک از آثار او شعری در مدح کسی یا سخنی در تهنیت پادشاه یا وزیری دیده نشده، بلی

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۶ .

۲ رجوع شود به سبک شناسی ملک‌الشعرای بهار ص ۳۲۸ - ۳۲۹ .

۳ رجوع شود به مقامات بدیع چاپ مصر ص ۷۳ .

۴ رجوع شود به مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۲۳۶ و ۲۳۸ .

انسانی دولت براعت و بلاغت یافتم و از خواندن قرآن مجید فراغت و از علم استادان و قُرّاء بعلم " اصمعی" و "فرّاء" آمدم و از تختهٔ ابجد حروف بدفتر مآت و الوف رسیدم و از کلام ربّانی بشعر "شیبانی" نقل کردم [۱] " .

بروایت خود قاضی، او پس از آموختن قرآن مجید و قرأت و تجوید بمتون و تتبعات زبان عربی پرداخته و از آثار عبد الملک بن قریب مکنی باصمعی که سابقاً ذکر شد استفاده نموده، و چنین از اندوختنی‌های ابو زکریا یحیی بن زیاد الفرّاء الدیلمی طرفی بر بسته .

یکی دیگر از منابع افکار قاضی حمید الدین همانا اشعار ابو عبد الله محمد بن الحسن بن فرقد الشیبانی از شعرای شیربن بیان عرب متولد بسال ۱۳۰ و متوفی بسال ۱۸۹ هجری است که در متنی که ذکر شد خود بدان اشاره کرده .

اینکه قاضی بزبان و ادبیات عرب ذوق سرشاری داشته و شعر عربی می سروده و نثر آن زبان را خوب میدانسته استفاده اورا از کتب فوق بحیث منبع فکری میرساند .

منبع افکار و حسّیات او در نگارش مقامات

تذکره نویسان مؤرخین ادبیات فارسی ننوشته اند که قاضی حمید الدین هنگام نگارش مقاماتش از چه منابعی استفاده کرده و یا کدام کتاب و داستانی خوانده ممکن است قاضی ما باین غرض کتب داستان و حکایات آنوقت را از نظر گذرانده باشد . ولی از آنجائیکه دلیل واضح در دست ما نیست نمیتوانیم بپذیریم یا از آن انکار کنیم .

آنچه محقق است اینست که قاضی حمید الدین از دو اثر یعنی مقامات "بدیعی"

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۹۳ .

بر کنار بوده باشد و تمام معلومات و اندوختنی های علمیش را از کتب در منزل شخصی دریافته باشد، ولی دلایل واضح و صریح راجع باین مسئله در دست نیست، و اتفاقاً دلایلی هم که شاگردی او را در مدارس یا نزد اساتذه نفی کند وجود ندارد .

میدانیم دانشگاهی بنام نظامیه در شهر زیبای بلخ شهری که قاضی ما در آن بسر برده آنوقت وجود داشت و ابو سعد هروی باستادی آن منسوب بود، که رشید وطواط نویسنده توانا معاصر قاضی حمید الدین است، در بحث معاصرین شرح حال اورا میبینیم، قسمتی از زندگی تحصیلیش را آنجا گذرانده [۱]. شاید قاضی حمید الدین سری درین دانشگاه بغرض تحصیل زده باشد، و در آنجا بمجمع درس استاد ابو سعد هروی حضور بهم‌رسانده باشد، خاصه آنکه خودش در دوازدهمین مقامه از زبان دوست مجهولش گوید :

" و با ادیبی که کامل بود در صناعت و بضاعت و نادر و شامل در بلاغت و براعت ائتلاف داشتم [۲]" .

ولی از آنجائیکه بما معلوم نیست این ادیب کامل که بوده، و دلایل واضح راجع بشاگردی قاضی نزد ابو سعد هروی نداریم ازین بحث میگذریم و بذکر منبع دیگر فکری قاضی میپردازیم .

کتب

این منبع افکار قاضی نیز چون اساتید او بسیار واضح و صریح نیست باز هم میدانیم که قاضی ما بنابر ذوق سرشار ادبی که داشته کتب مبادی و قواعد این عام را از نظر گذرانده و آموخته، خودش در دوازدهمین مقامه از آثار دو تن از علمای عرب از زبان دوست مجهولش یاد کرده و تصریح نموده است که آنرا فرا گرفته، جائیکه گوید : "که وقتی که از قسّام مراتب نفسانی و وهّاب مناصب

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۱ رجوع شود به مقدمه و تعلیقات استاد اقبال آشتیانی بر حدایق السحر فی دقایق الشعر

۲ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۹۳ .

موضوع دیگری که در تربیه قاضی شایان توجه است همانا تاثیر همنشین است در انسان ، این فکر را اکثر بزرگان ما داشته و تا امروز هم از اهمیت آن نکاسته ، سعدی در آن داستانی که از رسیدن گل خوشبوی در حمام باو حکایت کند باین موضوع اشاره نماید :

گل خوشبوی در حمام روزی　　رسید از دست محبوبی بدستم
بدو گفتم که مشکی یا عبیری　　که از بوی دلآویز تو مستم

تا آنکه از زبان گل گوید :

جمال همنشین در من اثر کرد　　وگرنه من همان خاکم که هستم

در صورتیکه قاضی پیش از سعدی درین باب توجه فرموده چنانچه در پایان دیده میشود :

گر بخواهی که مشکبوی شوی　　پهلوی نافهٔ تتاری رو (۱)

گو آنکه قاضی میخواهد بداناند که هر گاه کسی طالب نیکوئی باشد با نیکان می بایست همنشین گردد .

تا اینجا به هر نوع معلوماتی که از خود مقامات بدست بود قاضی را با مقام علمیش معرفی کردیم امیدواریم این معلومات بتواند سایه‌ای از پیکر علمی این مرد بزرگ باشد .

"منبع افکار و حسیات قاضی"

اساتذه

ما از منابعی که در دسترس خویش داشتیم نتوانستیم اساتذه یا استاد قاضی حمیدالدین را سراغ کنیم . گمان نمیشود قاضی حمیدالدین کاملاً از مکتب و استاد

۲　مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۹۲ .

بطوریکه گفته شد قرأت در ابتداء تحصیل آموخته میشد، می‌بینیم که قاضی ما نیز نخست قرآن میاموزد و سپس به فرا گرفتن ادبیات می‌پردازد ، و چون از شاگردی قُرّاء فراغت حاصل میکند نزد قُرّاء میرود .

قاضی و فن تربیه

فن تربیه از فنونی است که غربیها در تعیین حدود تنظیم و قواعد آن سعی زیاد تری کرده‌اند، اما بزرگان سلف ما نیز ازین فن بی خبر نبودند و دستورهائی در اطراف تربیت کودک و بزرگ داده اند . مانند مرحوم غزالی و شیخ بزرگ سعدی و دیگران، ولی اروپائیان دارند این فن را رنگ علمی دهند و اصول و مبانی آن را تدوین می کنند، هر چند آن روزهائی که قاضی بسر میبرده این فن بشکل امروزه نبوده ولی افکار تربیتی از دیر باز روزگار در کتب و آثار بزرگان اسلامی و غیر اسلامی دیده میشوده آنانکه میخواهند به جزئیات عقائد بزرگان قدیم این فن پی برند می توانند به کتاب تاریخ مختصر آموزش و پرورش تالیف دکتر عیسی صدیق و تاریخ التعلیم و التربیهٔ چاپ مصر و باقی کتب این فن رجوع کنند .

بطوریکه گفتیم افکار تربیوی در آثار بزرگان ما دیده میشود مقامات حمیدی نیز ازین افکار خالی نیست ، قاضی معتقد است که مولود را باید بخردی پدر و مادر تادیب کند و هرگاه در کودکی ادب نیابد مؤدب ایامش در بزرگی تادیب نماید :

"هر مولود که بتازیانهٔ تعریک پدر و مادر تهذیب و تأدیب نیابد مؤدب ایامش بسی سالگی ادب کند و غریم حوادث حقوق از او طلب[۱]" .

قاضی پس ازین مضمون همی گفته خویش را بشعری چند از عربی باین مطلع :

من لیس یبکیه ناصحوه   یضحک من حاله علاه

بنا بر عقیده قاضی کودک را می بایست بطفلی تادیب کرد و از افعال ناشایسته نگهداشت تا در بندگی دوچار مشکلات و کشمکش‌های زندگی نشود .

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۹۳ .

حمیدالدین را در تاریخ و انساب و احساب صاحب معلومات میدانیم، قاضی حمیدالدین علاوه برین که در چندین جای از مقامات خویش از لبید و ولید از قیس و ویس و سحبان و نعمان شعرای جاهلیة و صدر اسلام عرب ذکر فرموده ، خلفاء اسلامی را از خلفاء راشده و آنها را از نخستین خلیفهٔ اسلام ابابکر رض آغاز و به حسن مجتبی میرساند، پس از امویان نام میبرد، امویان را نیز از نخستین خلیفه این خاندان اعنی معاویه بن ابی سفیان آغاز و بآخر خلیفه‌ایشان که مروان باشد میرساند، پس از خلفاء اموی که خلافت به عباسیان منتقل میشود قاضی ما نیز این سلسلهٔ خاندان را از سفاح نخستین امیر ایشان آغاز و بمستنجد که معاصر بآخرین رروزهای زندگی او (قاضی) بوده میرساند .

قاضی و قرأت قرآن

قرأت قرآن از خواندنی‌هائی بود که مسلمانان آنروز و شاید امروزه نیز بر خود واجب میشمرده و قسمتی از زندگیش را بفرا گرفتن قواعد و تلاوت آن می‌گذرانده، خاصه آنکه آن مرد عالم دینی یا فقیه شهر بوده باشد، این کار طوریکه تا امروز در مکاتب غیر رسمی کشور مروج است و در ابتداء روزهای تحصیلی در کودکی انجام مییابد، قاضی نیز تابع این روش بوده و قرأت را از طفلی آموخته این مطلب از دوازدهمین مقامهٔ او که در تصوف است بدست می‌آید ، قاضی از زبان دوست مجهول خود گوید :

"که وقتی که از قسام مراتب نفسانی و وهاب مناصب انسانی دولت براعت و بلاغت یافتم و از خواندن قرآن مجید فراغت و از علم استادان و قُرّاء بعلم اصمعی و فرّاء آمدم [۱] " . عبدالملک بن قریب مکنی باصمعی از اشهر رواة و از ادبا و استادان بزرگ شعر عرب و دارای تالیفات زیاد است و بسال ۲۲۳ هجری وفات یافته . و الفرّاء ابو زکریا یحیی بن زیاد الفراء الدیلمی از علمای بزرگ لغت عرب متوفی بسال ۲۰۷ هجری .

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۹۳ .

بنامیم . "اگر تو از معرفت کمتر عضوی از اعضاء خود و مختصر جزوی از اجزاء خود بیرون آئی اسم حکمت بر تو مجازی نبود و نام علم بر تو ببازی نه[۱]".

ما نمیتوانیم قاضی را پزشک معالج بدانیم یا جراح ماهر بشناسیم ولی بنا بر اهمیتی که طب نزد او داشته گمان نمیکنیم از عمومیات او بیخبر بوده باشد یا از وظائف الاعضا چیزی نداند .

قاضی و علم انساب و تاریخ

گذشتگان ما بتاریخ و انساب و احساب ذوق داشتند و هنگامی باهم می‌نشستند از بزرگان یاد و حسب و نسب ایشان را ذکر میکردند . قاضی حمیدالدین گوید :

"من نیز عاشق وار در آن جمع گریختم و پروانه وار در آن شمع آویختم، چون رسم طعام و ادام بپرداختیم و یکدیگر را بنور مجالست باز شناختیم بمفاکههٔ علمی و مباحثهٔ ادبی رسیدیم اتفاق را آنشب بعلم انساب و احساب باز افتادیم و در آن سخن بر خود بگشادیم، ذکر تواریخ قدما و ایام علمای گذشته میرفت[۲]" .

اهمیت این علم و شاید نزد قاضی هم بنا بر آن بوده که جنبه مذهبی داشته و طوریکه در بحث وضع علمی و اجتماعی کشور گفته شد مذهب در عهد سلجوقیان دورهٔ سنجر و عهد قاضی حمید الدین اهمیت بسزائی داشته از متن مقامات نیز این مفهوم ظاهر میشود :

"بعضی این علم را تحسین کردند و گوینده را تمکین، میگفتند که قواعد اسلام و قوانین دین مبین بدین تعلق دارد و اخباری که بنای شریعت و آثاری که اساس دین بدان نسبت دارد[۳]" .

علت کسب این علم بهر چه باشد خواه برای دین خواه برای معلومات ما قاضی

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۱ مقامات حمیدی ص ۱۵۶ .

۲ مقامات حمیدی مقامه بست و چهارمین ص ۲۲۴ - ۲۲۵ . ۳ ایضاً ص ۲۲۵ .

راسخی بدست آریم، روی همرفته میدانیم که قاضی حمید الدین یا در نتیجه آن سفرهای دور و دراز خویش یا بوسیله مطالعه و اطلاع از کتب جغرافیائی عصر از وضع شهرها و خصوصیات بلاد مطلع بوده، و این مطلب را آن دو مقامهٔ که در وصف بلخ و سمرقند ساخته، و بگفته استاد برون اطلاعات واضح و قابل سمعی راجع بآن دو شهر بما میدهد آشکار میسازد .

علاوه برین قاضی ما در مقامات خویش از شهرهای نادر و گمنام نام میبرد که اینهم یکی از دلایل اطلاع او بجغرافیای عصرش میباشد چنانکه میگوید: ''چون چشم بگشادم رفیق را آواز دادم گام برداشته بود و منزل بمن گذاشته، ندانم که بماتم شتافت یا بسور و به صیدا رفت یا بصور[۱]''. ''صور'' و ''صیدا'' از بلاد سوریه و فلسطین است .

قاضی و طب

''طب'' از جمله علومی است که بشر از دیرباز روزگار بآن آشنا بوده و بنا بر احتیاجی که بآن داشته بترویج آن کوشیده و بآن، هنگام ضرورت توسل جسته، طب در عهد قاضی نیز رواج خوبی داشته، ازینجاست که در آن مناظرهٔ که در هژدهمین مقامه‌اش بین منجم و طبیب قائم کرده بطبیب اهمیت بیشتری قایل شده، و از زبان او منجم را مجاب کرده‌است، در پایان آن مقامه گوید :

''پیر یونانی (منجم) بیشتر آمد و پیر کرمانی (طبیب) را در بر گرفت و گفت : ای پیر حکیم فوق کل ذی علم علیم این در نیکو سفتی و این سخن خوب گفتی که هر علم را که رواج بود بقدر احتیاج بود حاجت مردمان بدین علم بیشتر است و بدین حرفت و صنعت احتیاج زیادتر[۲]''.

اهمیت طب را نزد قاضی میتوانیم از جای دیگر دریابیم، او میگوید : اگر بمعرفت عضوی از اعضا نایل شویم میتوانیم خویش را دانشمند یا حکیم

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۷۱ .

۲ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران - ص ۱۵۸ .

طبع ازین خانه بیگانه است و عقل درین آشیانه دیوانه در یک جوهر استعداد خلّ و خمر و بر یک شاخ اجتماع خار و تمر، بی‌ارادت زید و اختیار عمرو دلیل است بر وجود آنکه ا لا لَهُ الْخَلقُ وَ الْاَمْرُ تبارك الله رب العالمین [۱] ".

هیئت و جغرافیا

این دو علم " هیئت " و " جغرافیه " از جمله علومی است که از یونانیان به اسلام درآمد، و در روزگار خلفای عباسی رواج خوبی داشت، معلومات درست و واضح راجع بوضع این دو علم در مدرسه نظامیه بلخ و مدارس عصر قاضی در دست نیست، ولی اینقدر میدانیم که اندازهٔ اهمیت آن از علوم دینی و شرعی کمتر بوده، قاضی ما "هیئت" میدانسته و از " غرافیا " بیخبر نبوده برای اینکه نمونه از معلومات اورا نشان داده باشیم قسمت‌هائی از مقامات اورا که بموضوع مربوط است اقتباس و اینجا نقل میکنیم.

علمای هیئت قدیم معتقد بودند منظومه شمسی و ستارگان در آسمان چارم قرار دارد، قاضی بابن مطلب مطلع بود، ولی برای اینکه نسبت بتاریکی هوا مبالغه کرده باشد در فاصله ستارگان نسبت بزمین می‌افزاید، و منظومهٔ شمسی در آسمان پنجم قرار میدهد جائیکه میگوید: " اتفاق را آنشب سرما شدتی داشت مفرط و غلبهٔ داشت بکمال از روی سما انجم گوئی از حجاب پنجم مینمود [۲] ".

قاضی حمید الدین در " هیئت " پیرو مذهب قدیم بود، زمین را ساکن و افلاک را متحرک می‌پنداشت و رطوبت و خشکی را از اثر آن تصور میکرد: " فلک مختلف الادوار است گاه منتج رطوبت و گاه مثمر یبوست [۳] ".

راجع بمعلومات جغرافیائی قاضی حتی از مقامات هم نمیتوانیم معلومات درست و

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران مقامه چهارم ص ۲۹ - ۳۰.

۲ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران مقامه نهم ص ۷۵.

۳ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران - ص ۱۵۱.

بن بکر بن وائل سخن میراند، شعر آن دو را مشکل میشمارد و علتش را آوردن لغات نامانوس و وحشی میداند .

قاضی حمید الدین از مناظراتی که بین شعرای عرب واقع شده مطلع بوده که از آن در دومین مقامهٔ خویش اشاره کند : "پس چون نوبت سخن از جوان به پیر رسید و در مناظره از فرزدق به جریر (۱)". فرزدق همام بن غالب بن صعصعه از شعـرا و بلغای معروف عرب در دورهٔ بنی امیـه و متوفی بسال ۱۱۰ هجری و جریر بن عطیة بن الخطفی از گویندگان و شعرای بزرگ عهد بنی امیه و متوفی بسال ۱۱۰ هجری . معاصر با فرزدق بود و بین این دو شاعر مناظرات و مهاجات بسیار اتفاق افتاد .

روی هم رفته میتوانیم بگوئیم که قاضی حمید الدین در ادبیات و تاریخ ادبیات عرب معلومات خوبی داشته و بگفته خودش : "در حلّه‌های عرب دقایق فصاحت آموخته و در کلّه های عجم آتش ملاحت افروخته (۲) ".

قاضی و حکمت

به استناد گفتهٔ استاد قزوینی گفتیم : علوم شرعیه از علوم اصلیه برای فقیه بود و علوم ادبیه از فضلیات بود اینست که قاضی حمید الدین به اصلیات اکتفا نکرده و فضلیات را نیز آموخته حکمت از علومی بود که بنابر عوامل سیاسی عصر یا عواملی که ما راجع به آن کم میدانیم اهمیتش را باخته و اصالتاً تدقیق نمیشد ، اینکه گفته‌اند هرکس نمیتواند از تاثیر محیط محفوظ بماند سخنی است بجا و بنابر آن ...ی ما نیز حکمت را با آنکه میدانسته خوب نمیدیده و معتقدات قسمتی از آنها را خطا میشمرده : "هرکه درین ترکیبات و ترتیبات سخن از عناصر گفت از عقل قاصر گفت و هرکه حوالهٔ این ابداع و اختراع به هیولا و علت اولی کرد مقصر بلکه جملهٔ ابداع و انشاء و اظهار و افشاء تعلق به مکون اشیاء و خالق ماشاء دارد که

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران مقامه دوم ص ۱۹ .

۲ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران - ص ۳۹.

برای اینکه بمراتب ادبی قاضی و معلومات او درین فن بخوبی پی بریم، مثالی از مقامات او می‌آریم. قاضی حمید الدین در نهمین مقامه داستانی زده و جملهٔ بدیعی از بدیع الزمان همدانی نقل کرده: "هذا یوم جمد فیه خمرة و خمد فیه جمرة" (۱). قاضی حمیدالدین به نظم درآوردن این نثر را کار آسان نمی‌راند. تا آنکه خود بنظم آن مبادرت کند و آنرا باین بیت منظوم سازد:

من حکایات برد لیلتها　　خمدت فی الشتاء مقلوبه
قد هممنا بشربها فاذا　　جمدت فی الاناء مشروبه (۲)

واضح است که بنظم درآوردن نثر آن هم نثری از بدیع الزمان همدانی نخستین مقامه نویسی که اثرش در دست هست کار هرکس نیست و از عهدهٔ آنکه در ادب و عربیت استاد نباشد نمی‌تواند برآید.

بهترین دلیل معلومات و استادی قاضی حمیدالدین در ادبیات همانا ترکیب مقامات و داستانهائی است باین خوبی و مهارت که استاد برون خاور شناس مشهور انگلیسی در بارهٔ آن گوید: مقامات حمیدی از نقطهٔ نظر استادی و ذکاوت با سر مشق آن برابری میکند مقصود از سر مشق مقامات "بدیعی" و "حریری" است.

شاعر بودن قاضی بتازی نیز دلیل استادی او در ادبیات آن زبان است که اشعار مصنوع و آبدار در آن سروده محتویات مقامات دلیل این گفتار است.
پس از آنکه قاضی را لغوی و ادیب عربی شناختیم معلومات اورا در تاریخ ادبیات عرب از نظر میگذرانیم.

قاضی ما شعرای جاهلیت عرب را نیک می‌شناخت و اشعار ایشانرا خوب می‌فهمید، وقتی از لبید بن ربیعة العامری شاعر صدر اسلام که بعمر ۱۴۵ سالگی در زمان خلافت معاویه درگذشت صحبت میکند یا از اعشی میمون بن قیس بن جندل

۱　مقامات حمیدی مقامه نهمین چاپ تهران ص ۷۶.
۲　ایضاً ص ۷۷.

(دنباله گفتار گذشته)

احوال قاضی حمیدالدین بلخی

بقلم فاضل محترم آقای میرحسین شاه، دانشکدهٔ ادبیات، کابل

موضوعات است بخوبی معلوم میشود[1] پس بنابر آنچه ذکر شد قاضی حمیدالدین را در علوم عالیه شرعیه و علوم آلیه استاد میدانیم .

ذیلاً در اطراف معلومات قاضی حمیدالدین در علوم مختلفه تفصیل میدهیم :

ادبیات و تاریخ ادبیات عرب

گفتیم آموختن ادبیات عرب جزو برنامهٔ مدرسه نظامیهٔ بلخ بود، حالا هرگاه قاضی حمیدالدین باحتمال بعید نظامیه نرفته باشد، از دانستن و علومی که در مدارس عصرش مروج بوده نمی‌تواند برکنار بماند، خاصه آنکه ما مدارکی در احتوای او بآن علم بدست داریم که بزرگ ترین آنها همانا آوردن جملات و ترکیب‌ها و حتی اشعار عربی در مقامات آنست .

قاضی حمیدالدین گذشته از آنکه در لغت و قواعد زبان عرب استاد بود شعر شناس بود ماهر در شعر و اقسام آن نظر داشت که بطور استشهاد آن قسمت از مقامه پنجم مقامات او نقل می‌شود :

"نظم را طبقات است و شعر را درجات، بعضی معلوم است و بعضی مبهم، بعضی مقفّل است و بعضی مغفّل، نوعی است که آنرا ذوالشرفین خوانند و جنسی که آنرا ذوالطرفین گویند، شعریست که آنرا متشابه الاجزا خوانند و متناسب الاعضا دانند، در تحت هر یک کانیست و بیان، هریک را مکانی و جولان، هریک را میدانی و معرفت، هریک را معیاری و میزانی[2]" .

قاضی حمیدالدین اقسام شعر را که خودش تقسیم کرده جدا جدا شرح میدهد که از مطالعه صفحه ۴۷ مقامه پنجم چاپ تهران واضح میشود که بنا بر طول سخن در اینجا از نقل آن اجتناب شد .

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۱ رجوع شود به مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۱۵۹ . ۲ ایضاً ص ۴۴ .

بسکه هر لحظه بدل میفکنم چاک دگر — هیچ گه نوبت دستم بگریبان نرسد

* * *

هر دل که یافت ذوق هم آغوشی غمش — سرمایه تجارت سودست ماتمش
آندل که چون طرب ز الهی رمیده بود — عشق تو رام کرد بغمهای عالمش

* * *

هر که عاشق بود از ناله جدا ننشیند — تکیه بر درد کند پیش دوا ننشیند
نگهم گوشه نشین خم ابروی کسیست — که برویش عرق از بیم حیا ننشیند

* * *

هجران دو اسبه از در و دیوار میرسد — روزم دگر بوصل شب تار میرسد
بعد از هلاک ما که اسیر محبتیم — میراث ما بمرغ گرفتار میرسد

* * *

مشتاق آب تیغ تو لب تشنه جان دهد — گر همچو موج غوطه در آب بقا خورد

* * *

دولت وصل او کنم هر سحر از خدا طلب
مهلت اگر دهد مرا گریه صبح گاهیم

* * *

تا بکی خون از محیط دیده در جوش آورم
همچوساحل موج ازین دریا در آغوش آورم
بی تو شبها ماتمی دارم که از تاثیر آن
اشک غم را بر سر بالین سیه پوش آورم
کشته تیغ تو بیهوش است بیجانش مخوان
چون بخواهی بازش از تیغ تو با هوش آورم
چون نفس جوشد الهی زهر از کامم بلب
بر کف سر مو اگر پیمانه نوش آورم

* * *

صد خون خورم که ناله بآن دلربا رسد — این آه پا شکسته ندانم کجا رسد
پائی بزخم بند کند ناله هر قدم — تا بر لبم ز سینه بچندین جفا رسد

میرزا محسن نمازی

استاد دانشگاه، کلکته، ۲۳ مه ۱۹۶۰

ندیده‌ام بچمن بلبل پریشانی که پیش دستی بر من کند بافغانی
جراحت دل ما مرهم دگر خواهد بیا فتیله برین زخم نه ز پیکانی

* * *

ز بسکه دست ستم گرم دل شکافی بود نگشت خالی ازو قسمت گریبانی
بناله درد سر باغ و بوستان چه دهم که خوشدلم چو الهی بکنج بستانی

* * *

بی تو اشکم انیس چشم تر بی رگ جان در تنم چون نیشتر بی
رسنهای نگاهم در فراقت فتیله از پی داغ جگر بی

* * *

آنی که سخن ز طبع افروخت چراغ خلق تو ولی نعمت هر گلشن و باغ
از عشق بپای تو چو مستان همه شب بر ساعد شاهد قلم سوزم داغ

* * *

ترکیب مدادی که بود تیره نهاد بر صفحه نهد ز وصف رای تو سواد
از بس که فتد پرتو معنی بر لفظ افتم بغلط که آب زر بوده مداد

* * *

شبها که فتد گنج رقم در دستم گردد دل خامه چون علم در دستم
از گرمی تحریر معانی چون شمع افروخته میشود قلم در دستم

* * *

از آه حسرتم جگر شعله آب شد وز آتش دلم دل آتش کباب شد
چندین قفس ز شوخی بال و پرم شکست آه از کجا نصیب من این اضطراب شد

* * *

ز بیم جور تو در سینه ام نفس میرد چو شعله که درآغوش خار و خس میرد
تو شمع بزمی و من اضطراب جان دارم چو نیم سوز چراغی که از نفس میرد

* * *

هوای باغ ز پاسی چنان غم انگیز است که مرغ در چمن از حسرت قفس میرد

* * *

سر مخمور مرا نشأ سامان نرسد خون شود در دل من درد و بدرمان نرسد
در چمن بی تو اگر فرصت شیون یابم نوبت ناله بمرغان گلستان نرسد

* * *

رباعیات امیر الهی

چند سال پیش ایام تعطیل دانشگاه در سفر بودم، روزی در یکی از شهرهای بلاد عرب از بازار میگذشتم درگوشه‌ای مقداری کتاب خطی و چاپی حراج میکردند بی آنکه بخریدار فرصت رسیدگی و دقت دهند . در پشت کتابی یک صفحه اشعار فارسی نوشته بود توجه مرا جلب نمود در مزایده آن شرکت نمودم، دلال بتصور آنکه ناشی هستم تا توانست قیمت را بالا برد و بخیال خودش خیلی گران بمن چاشنی کرد. کتاب را بمنزل آورده رسیدگی کردم معلوم شد قطعه‌ایست از کتاب مختلف تصنیف قدوه انام و فخر علماء اسلام شیخ جمال الدین ابو منصور حسن بن سدیدالدین یوسف بن زین‌الدین علی بن مطهر معروف بعلامهٔ حلی قدس سره (٦٤٨-٧٢٦ هـ) که شرح حال و بیان تصانیف مهم و یرا مقالتی جداگانه بلکه کتابی علیحده لازم است، این نسخه بخط نسخ است برای امتیاز آن همین بس‌که کاتب آن خودش از علماء بوده و نظریات خویش را در حاشیه کتاب جابجا نوشته عده حواشی زیاد نیست، ولی آنچه را من با این بضاعت مزجاة استنباط کرده‌ام این حواشی متین و مفید است از مطالعه آن بسیار محظوظ شدم یک بخش از نسخه چاپی مختلف را با آن مقابله کرده استفاده شایان نمودم کاتب در پایان کتاب چنین نگاشته :

فرغ من تعلیقه العبد الضعیف ابوطالب ابراهیم بن سبتی بن ابراهیم بن علی درید الحایری بالمشهد المقدس الحایری فی العاشر من شهر ربیع‌الاول لسنة اربعه و سبعین و سبعمائه هجریه .

آمدم بر سر اشعار فارسی که در یک صفحه پشت کتاب نوشته‌اند اغلب آن رباعیاتست رسم‌الخط آن نستعلیق با خط متن کتاب تفاوت دارد، ولی در قدیمی بودن آن شکی نیست، نام سراینده رباعیات امیر الهی است که با نویسنده معاصر بوده زیرا بر اسم شاعر سلمه الله تعالی اضافه کرده، برخی ازین رباعیات دارای مضامین دلچسب و دلیل بر رقت احساسات چامه سرا میباشد، بیشتر کلمات از اول و آخر ابیات بکلی محو شده و چون نویسنده بگذاردن نقطه هم چندان مقید نبوده کار خواندن آنرا بسیار مشکل نموده با صرف وقت مجهولات آنرا استخراج بدون کمترین تصرف در زیر تقدیم خوانندگان میشود :

هر چند که خط غالیه گون خواهد بود — چون حسن تو عشق من فزون خواهد بود

هر زخم که بر دلم ز پیکان تو ماند — گرداب هزار سیل خون خواهد بود

* * *

بشام زلفت

اثر طبع بلند و قریحهٔ سرشار دانشمند محترم جناب آقای دکتر علی اصغر حکمت
سابقا وزیر امور خارجه ایران

دل ما بشام زلفت ز سحر خبر ندارد
شب محنت غریبان بجهان سحر ندارد

بدیار هند جانم بقفس درون چو طوطی
همه دشت پر ز شکر چه کند که پر ندارد

نکند سخن برهمن ندهد ز عشق پندم
که بجان دردمندم سخنش اثر ندارد

من و آه پر شراری که جهان بسوخت آری
نفسم بسینه باری بجز از شرر ندارد

چو روان رهنوردم بدیار نیستی شد
هم ازان وطن هوای سفر دگر ندارد

همه باغبان ز اول گل صورت تو میکاشت
که بگلستان در آخر ز تو خوبتر ندارد

ز تو نامه‌ای و از ما دو هزار دامن اشک
ز پی نثار چشمم به از این گهر ندارد

دل حکمت پریشان بخدا برد غم جان
که ز لطف‌های پنهان دگری خبر ندارد



VOLUME XIII SEPTEMBER 1960 No. 3

INDO-IRANICA

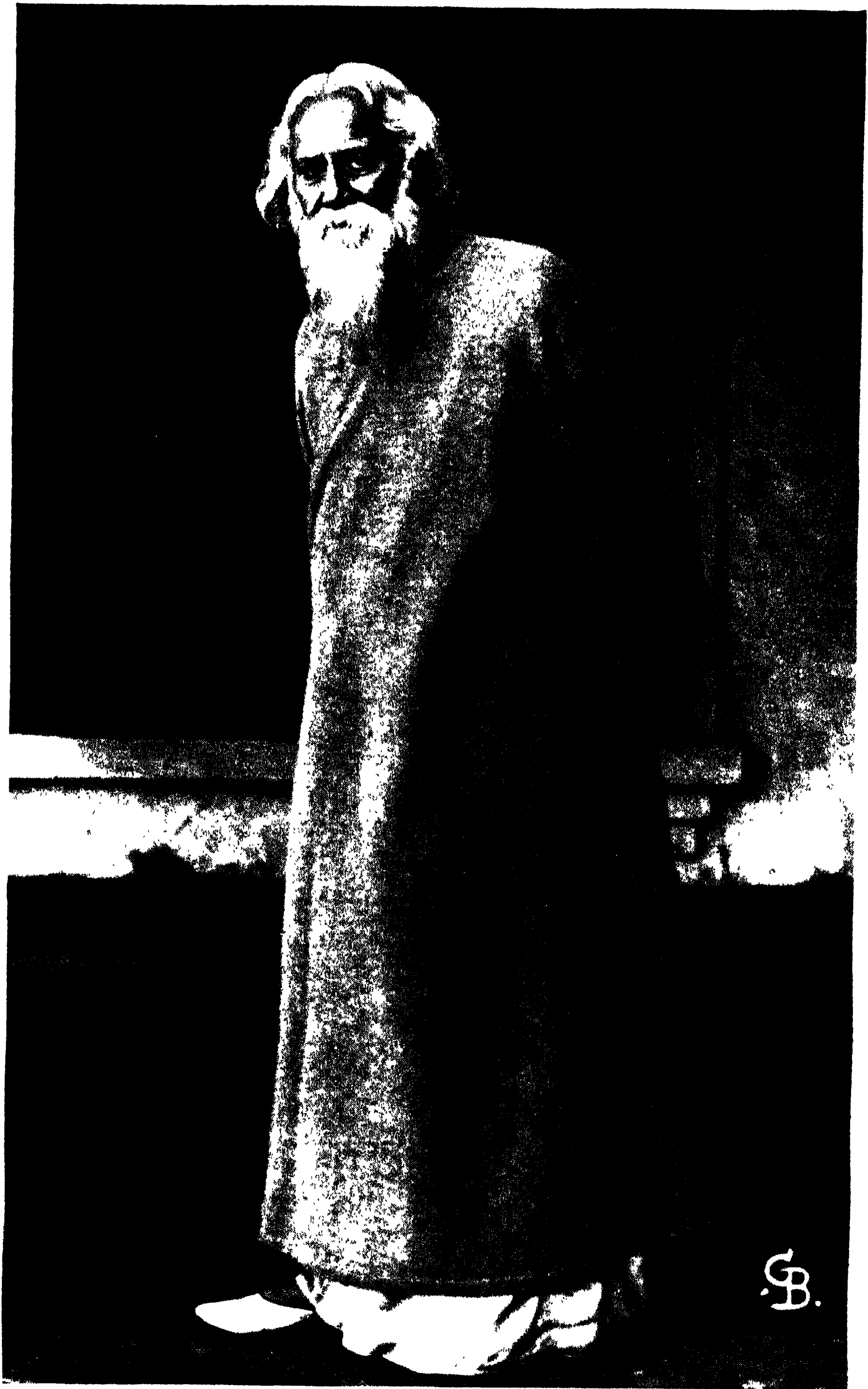
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Rabindranath Tagore

THE POETRY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By Prof. Humayun Kabir

Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs

In May 1961, we shall be celebrating the centenary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore. Great as are his contributions in many fields of human endeavour, he will be remembered most as a pre-eminent man of letters. In sheer quantity of work few writers can equal him. His writings include more than one thousand poems and over two thousand songs in addition to a large number of short stories, novels, dramatic works and essays on religion, society, education, politics and literature. In a word, his interests embrace every subject which is of interest to man. In quality, he has reached heights which have been trodden, and that too only rarely, by only the noblest among men. When one remembers the enormous range and extraordinary quality of his work, it is not surprising that his admirers should acclaim him as perhaps the greatest literary figure in history.

One can never account for the emergence of a genius, for genius is always something in the nature of an exception. It is at the same time the function of genius to find expression for the emotions and ideas which stir in the unconscious and sub-conscious mind of the race. A bond is thus established between the genius and his people, and helps to explain the admiration and wonder with which the genius is greeted when he appears. People find in his words and actions an embodiment of the feelings and aspirations which they have dimly felt but could not express. The genius also benefits by such relation. He derives his strength and energy from the inchoate feelings and vague aspirations stirring in the racial mind. Tagore is typical of genius in both respects. His uniqueness is beyond question and at the same time he is deeply rooted in the people whom he lived for and loved.

Tagore was fortunate in both the time and the place of his birth. The advent of the West had disturbed the placid waters of Indian life and a new awakening was sweeping throughout the land. Its initial impact had dazzled the Indian mind and made many of the early reformers blind imitators of the West. The first uncritical admiration was wearing off when Tagore was born, but the ideals brought by the West were still active and strong. At the same time, there was growing recognition of the values of India's own heritage. The time was there-

fore opportune for the emergence of a genius who could unite in himself eastern and western values.

It was not only the time but also the place which was opportune. Bengal had felt the impact of the West more vividly than perhaps any other part of India. In Bengal the new stirrings of life were most marked in Calcutta. To this city and its environs came not only adventurers of trade and war but also administrators, missionaries and more important still men who were born teachers. And they came not only from the British Isles but also from France, Holland and other parts of Europe. Russia was in those days far and remote, but we still find among the early pioneers of the Calcutta theatre a Russian name. The meeting of East and West on India's shores was thus for Tagore both a fact and an ideal.

The circumstances of his family also helped in the flowering of Tagore's genius. A pioneer of the Indian awakening, his family accepted the new challenges without giving up the rich heritage of the past. As a Brahmin, Tagore easily and naturally imbibed the traditions of ancient India and was deeply influenced not only by the literature but by the religious and cultural ideals embedded in Sanskrit. As a member of the landed class, he was familiar with the ways of life of medieval India and could accept without question the composite culture of the Moghal Courts. In both these respects, he was perhaps not different from other Brahmin zamindars of the day, but unlike many of them, he was also sensitive to the new currents of the modern world. Steeped in the traditions of ancient and medieval India, his family was at the same time one of the pioneers of western education and the western way of life. This family background explains both the richness of Tagore's Indian heritage and the absence of any conflict or hidden stress in his mind. His was an integrated personality free from the divisions which sapped the energy of so many of his contemporaries.

Tagore was indeed fortunate that he could accept the challenge of the new without discarding the values of ancient and medieval India. Those who had been weaned away from their own culture and depended too much on the inspiration of the West lost their roots in national life. Loss of contact with the people diminished the sources of their inspiration and reduced their spiritual capital. This explains why many of them, in spite of undoubted talent and gifts, could not make a deep or abiding impact on Indian life and letters. They lacked the energy which genius derives from its identification with the inmost urges of the race.

There is one other factor which helped Tagore in establishing his

identity with the people. Quite early in life, he lived for years in a boat among the sandbanks of the Padma and thus came into intimate contact with the rural culture of the country. The quality of life he experienced in these regions was rooted in the primeval and ancient history of the land. Its culture goes back deeper into the life of the people than the urban culture developed in the middle ages. Tagore thus secured an entry into a world unknown to the townsman and struck roots in some of the deepest levels of the racial consciousness. His contact with the abundant life of the common man is the source of his exuberant creative powers and explains why his inspiration never failed.

In considering Tagore's life and work, one is again and again struck by the amazing vitality of his genius. He was essentially a poet, but his interests were not confined to poetry. We have already mentioned the diversity of his literary work, but literature in its widest sense could not exhaust his energies. He was also a musician and a painter of very highest order. In addition, he made notable contributions to religious and educational thought, to politics and social reform, to moral regeneration and economic reconstruction. In fact, his achievements in these fields are so great that they mark him out as one of the makers of modern India.

Tagore's greatest strength lies in his sense of the unity of life. No bifurcation of ideals or culture divided his energies. It is therefore not surprising that he should recognise no separation between art and life. The close of the nineteenth century saw in Europe the triumph of a new aesthetic cult. There were many who held that art must be pursued for its own sake, regardless of its relation to life. The ivory tower became the symbol and type of artistic endeavour. The poet and the artist, said the votaries of this cult, were first and foremost dreamers. Tagore never accepted a conception of art divorced from life. He pursued beauty, but as a manifestation of life. Simultaneously, he held that life was no grace unless it is instinct with beauty. The religion of the poet was for Tagore also the religion of man.

Tagore is one of the supreme lyric poets of the world. Sincerity of feeling and vividness of imagery combine with the music of his verse to give us poems that haunt the reader long after the actual words are forgotten. This fusion of feeling, imagery and music showed very early in his life. *Nirjharer Swapnabhanga* (The Awakening of the Fountain) was composed before he was twenty but still remains one of the supreme lyries in Bengali, or indeed any language. The poem is remarkable not only for its music and intensity, but also for the boldness of its images. What is perhaps even more significant is the fusion of

nature and man in an indissoluble unity. This identity of nature and man remained one of the most characteristic traits of Tagore's poetry throughout his life.

Perhaps there has never been another poet who loved the earth so passionately. There is hardly a single mood of day or night or of the circling seasons which Tagore has not sung in his poetry. The sights and sounds of Bengal and especially her rural landscape are caught again and again in magic verse. Since the days of Kalidasa, Indian poets have revelled in the glories of the rainy season. Tagore has also caught the varying moods of the monsoons in a hundred songs and poems. In fact, his poems and songs of the rain have become a part of our national heritage. The expectancy of the parched soil just before the advent of the rains, the heavy smells which rise from the damp earth after the first shower, the thrill of life in the green shoots of the newly growing grass, the dark clouds which dim the clear morning light and charge with magic the evening shadows, the unceasing patter of rain in the silence of the night—these and a hundred other pictures are brought vividly to our mind in Tagore's magic verse. He has also woven into them the joys and sorrows of the human heart till nature and man reflect one another's moods and lose their separate identity.

Nor has Tagore neglected the other seasons. Autumn and spring are reflected in their many moods. The wild energy of early spring, the sense of liberation from the bonds of winter and the quick vivid burst of colour and sound are reflected in many a poem and song. They reflect not only the joyousness and strength of spring but also its sense of transience and impermanent glory. Autumn with its sense of fullness and maturity and its clear rain-washed skies has played a special role in many of Tagore's poems. One of his most successful musical plays in built round the theme of autumn with its sense of liberation from the pressure of immediate work. Even winter and summer have not been forgotten. In one of his most famous poems. Tagore has conceived of summer as an austere ascetic who with bated breath waits for the advent of new life.

It is not only the beauty of nature that bound Tagore so intimately to the earth. He also loved the earth as the abode of man, and has poured out his love of man in numberless poems and songs. There is hardly any feeling of the human heart to which he has not responded. The intimate play of love in all its nusances of joy and sorrow is crystallised in unforgettable words. Sorrow and anguish and the exquisite agony of hopeless waiting are reflected with a fidelity that leaves one breathless. There is also a sense of the eternal presence of

nature as a companion of human emotions. He knew that life is full of strife and striving and the world is far from perfect, but he also knew that the imperfections and the faults, the sufferings and the longings of our earthly life make it the more dear to man.

For Tagore, the earth is not only a stage where man strives after a fuller life, but also a loving mother that watches over his efforts to find a richer meaning in all experience. Tagore was no ascetic and deliberately repudiated the ideal which seeks to deny the multitudinous life of the body. Nor was he an epicure or a hedonist, for he felt that the real glory of life lies in the constant striving for a fuller and richer experience. This yearning for fuller life recurs again and again in his poems. In *Basundhara* (The World) he sings of the abounding life of the earth and man's kinship to the swelling tide of primeval energy. In one of his most famous lyrics, *Swarga Hoite Biday* (Farewell to Heaven) he compares the passionless calm of heavenly bliss with the exquisite flow of joy and pain in earthly experience. Tagore leaves us in no doubt where his own preference lies.

Tagore's love for man finds one of its most exquisite expressions in the poetry he has written for children. All men have in them an element of the child, for without it they cannot live. The energy, the spontaniety and the wonder of childhood and even more its power to transmute the common place by the touch of imagination fade with the growing years but unless some traces of its magic remain in our hearts, we could not endure the hardship and monotony of our daily existence. It is not only in a physical sense that our march from childhood is a march towards death. Even the most hardened criminal feels an instinctive sympathy for the innocence and helplessness of the child. In the case of a poet, it is not only sympathy but identification. And the greater the poet, the more complete the identification, for sensibility is more important to him than sense.

One of the supreme poets of the world, Tagore keenly felt and expressed vividly the moods and fancies of the growing child. Children respond in a way that few adults can to the colours and shapes and forms and sound of the outside world. They have their own sorrows and joys that are as real to them as the joys and sorrows of adult life are to the adult. In poem after poem, Tagore has expressed the sensations as well as the feelings of childhood with the sensitiveness and reverent wonder of the child. He has caught in these poems the innocence and helplessness of the young as vividly as their longing and wistfulness. His complete identification with the wishes and hopes and fears and dreams of the young is as characteristic of these poems as an

utter simplicity and directness that can come only under the stress of the deepest emotion.

Tagore lost his wife when he was about forty and soon after two of his children were stricken with mortal illness. One of them was a son who had inherited much of Tagore's gifts of body and mind. As he nursed them in the knowledge that they would not live, he wrote for them exquisite lyrics into which went all the longing and anguish of his bleeding heart. Full of tender whimsically and a strong wistfulness, in them live his own past and a future that would never be theirs. The agony he could not express lest it darken the few days left to them gives to these poems an intensity and poignancy that has rarely, if ever, been equalled.

Tagore was essentially a lyric poet, but his love for nature and his sense of kinship with all life gives a rich dramatic quality to many of his poems. With his deep humanity and passionate yearning for justice, it is not surprising that he should be attracted by social and political themes. The occasion may be a particular experience, but whatever he touches is lifted to a higher plane of universal meaning. He has written some bitter satires against the prejudices and superstitions of his own people, but with a few rare exceptions, they also show how his essential humanism rises above his indignation and wrath. Even his patriotic poems are instinct with a feeling for all humanity. For Tagore, patriotism was a positive quality of love for his own people and land, never a negative attitude of hatred for the foreigner. One of the finest examples of this is seen in his poem, *Guru Govind,* where passionate love for one's country and peopie is seen to deepen into love for all mankind. In fact, Tagore never recognised that anything human could be foreign to him. In his famous lyric, *Prabashi* (The Wanderer), he declares that man has home in every clime and his country in every region of the world. This sense of identification with all mankind has found one of its finest expressions in our National Anthem where Tagore invokes the Lord of the heart of all the peoples of the world as the arbiter of India's destiny.

Tagore's love for man unconsciously and inevitably merged into love of God. We have already indicated how nature and man were united in his imaginative grasp of experience. Nor did he ever think of divinity as something apart and remote from human life. For his God was essentially love. The love of the mother for her child or of the lover for the beloved are only instances of the supreme love that is God. And this love expresses itself not only in the ecstatic devotion of the mystic but also in the routine of everyday life of the common

man. Tagore repeatedly declared that God is to be realised in the common relations of life and in the daily work which sustains the world. There is no doubt that Tagore was deeply influenced by both Vaishnava poetry and Sufi mysticism. His poems and songs are full of images and themes which remind us of ecstatic experience, but we also find a keen sense of the facts of daily life. His words and phrases have an authenticity of expression that can be born only out of personal experience. Nuances of feeling are fused with moods of nature in a way which has few parallels in the world's poetry.

A word may be said about the quality of his mystic poetry. When Gitanjali was first published in an English translation, the West hailed it for its message of peace and love in a war-torn and embittered world. There is no doubt that the poems in that slender volume are charged with a deep sense of peace and calm. They have an ineffable quality of beauty and remoteness in spite of the familiarity of the themes and the simplicity of the language and imagery. To readers in Europe and America, they came with the delighted wonder of a new discovery, but to readers of Tagore in Bengali the poems are only a natural culmination of his earlier writing. The love of nature and man had by unconscious steps merged into the love of God. Deep personal suffering had given a mellowness to his images and themes. Growing experience had revealed to him the undoubted truth that all our life is surrounded by mystery. The wonder and pathos of human life had brought a new sympathy and understanding to his works of imagination.

One characteristic of many of these later lyrics of Tagore is their utter simplicity. In his earlier poems, he drew largely upon the rich associations and assonance of Sanskrit. Many of them recapture the theme and spirit of classical Indian literature. He has no doubt often given a new twist to an old situation, but the affiliation with the rich mythology of India is unmistakable. In his later poems dedicated to man and God, he has shed all adornment. The simplest of human situations are used to reveal his experience of the divinity. The language also takes on the directness and simplicity of common speech. In many of these later songs and lyrics, we stand face to face with the immediacy of experience. Words have become transparent and like the notes of purest music speak to us with a vividness and force that often leave us speechless.

Nor must we forget that Tagore was throughout his life an earnest and intrepid seeker of truth. The vigour of his intellect pierced the facade of sham and hypocrisy which we often build to hide our poverty. The massive and masculine quality of his writing has remained largely

unknown to those who have not read him in the original. For one thing, the translations have been selective and have left out some of the most powerful examples of his intellectual sweep. For another, many of the translations are in fact adaptations and have toned down the rugged strength of the original.

The concern with man and his fate showed quite early in Tagore's life. In *Sandhya Sangeet*, one of his earliest book of poems, we already find him brooding over the problem of existence. He also shows a precocious awareness of the unloveliness which results when man's selfishness masquerades as love. The philosophical strain gains in depth and intensity in *Naivedya*, but it is perhaps in *Balaka* that we have the finest fusion of intellect and emotion. Some of the poems of *Balaka* reveal an integration of thought and feeling which has transformed metaphysical speculation into the purest lyric poetry.

Tagore was searching after new experiences and new expressions almost to the last day of his life. In his sixties, there was an outburst of lyric poetry which can compare with the best work of his early youth. The poems of this period reveal a new note of deep feeling and passion purified by suffering. The intimate and personal quality of these poems is replaced in the next decade by a rich and mellow humanism. The exuberance of his earlier writings is replaced by a rare economy of thought and expression. There is a sense of power and assurance in some of his last poems which astonish us by their intellectual vigour. There is also a new questioning of the ultimate ends of existence matched with a calm acceptance of life with all its imperfections and its promise.

Tagore experimented not only with the theme and subject but also with the form of poetry. He was never afraid of the influence of his predecessors. He has however transmuted whatever he has touched. Tagore had the greatest admiration for Kalidas, but even when he has taken a theme from him, Tagore has given it a twist that makes his treatment essentially modern. He borrowed freely from the traditional Vaishnava Poetry of Bengal and has himself acknowledged his indebtedness to a poet like Biharilal. No man can escape his environment or his age. Attempts to do so lead more often than not to failure, and are in fact generally a symptom of the poet's lack of self-confidence. Tagore grew under the influence of contemporary society, but the very process of growth enabled him to transcend them in course of time. Once he was sure of his medium, he did not hesitate to experiment in both the form and the matter of his poems and sought inspiration in fields of experience which had been earlier

neglected in Bengali poetry. In fact, he largely obliterated the distinction between what is and what is not subject matter for a poem. In the *Kshanika,* we find him selecting themes which at first sight offer no poetic possibilities but his genius lifts them above the level of the common place and makes them glow with the light of beauty. The claim of Wordsworth that the deepest experience can be expressed in the simplest terms and the facts of everyday life lit up with the light of mystery finds vivid justification in many of Tagore's poems of this period. Laughter and tears, humour and passion are fused to give a strange combination of wistfulness, yearning and mockery. We find in poems like *Krishna-Kali, Jathasthan* or *Shekal* a wonderful interplay of human moods, emotions and feelings.

Apart from increasing intensity and concentration, the poems of his latest phase show a growing concern with the problems of the mystery of life. In spite of the great richness and variety of Bengali poetry, it has often exhibited a parochial quality. Even some of the most beautiful Vaishnava lyrics are so imbedded in local atmosphere that they cannot be lifted out of their context. One of the greatest achievements of Tagore was the introduction of a new note of urbanity and universality. They make his poems as appealing to a man in Moscow or New York as to a man in Bengal. This universal and urban note continually deepened throughout his long life and the poems of his last period show them in a most marked degree. They are also marked by the attempt at establishing a kinship with man in all his efforts and strivings, his hopes and failures, his aspirations and his daily work. The physical suffering which Tagore had to face in his last days has also been expressed with a vividness and poignancy that has rarely been equalled. The economy of expression in a poem like *Abasanna Chetanar* or *Ajasra Diner Alo* is in sharp contrast with the abandon and exuberance of the poems of his early youth. Not only is there a sense of restraint and economy, but also a deep sense of fullness and completion in the last poems that he wrote. He had, it seems, made his peace with life and the world. There is misery and suffering in the world. Existence is dogged by the fact of death, but in spite of all its imperfections life is full of significance and value. *E Jivana Sundarer or Madhumay Phrithibir Dhuli* is full of the sense of the victory of life in the shadow of the valley of death.

It is difficult if not impossible to trace the development of a poet's mind. In other fields of experience there is a continuity of growth which seems to conform to certain laws. In the case of poetry, inspiration waxes and wanes in a mysterious and inexplicable manner. Some of the greatest poems of a poet have been written in his youth,

while in his maturity he often produces only mediocre or conventional work. Tagore is no exception to this rule and we find that there are exquisite poems in his earliest period and some uninspired ones in his later life. Nevertheless the way in which he sustained his inspiration throughout a long life of eighty years marks him as one of the greatest poets of all times. The energy and the vitality which enabled him to achieve this is derived from the unity and integrity of his personality. He summed up in himself the various strands which today make up India's composite culture. It was his special glory to catch and reflect the various aspects of India's myriad-sided life. He drew largely upon Sanskrit Literature and enlarged both vocabulary and the metric forms of Bengali. He effected an almost perfect fusion between Vaishnava lyricism and Sufi mystic feeling. He interpreted with sympathy and imagination the courtly ways which had developed in the wake of feudalism in the middle ages. Simultaneously he drew upon the untapped sources of the life of the common people. Images and symbols of the Bengali village are woven into the fabric of his poetry with exquisite skill. He also incorporated into Bengali literature the ideals and moods of the West. The sense of power and speed in many of the poems of *Balaka* may well be derived from European sources. Everything in transient, is an ancient human finding, but Tagore gave to it a new significance by making it the symbol of the motion that is latent in all things.

In a word, Tagore's poetry is born out of an amalgam of the rich classical heritage of ancient India, the spacious ways of the Mughal Court, the simple verities of the life of the common people of Bengal and the restless energy and intellectual vigour of modern Europe. He is an inheritor of all times and all cultures. It is this combination of many different strands and themes that gives to his poetry its resilience, universality and infinite appeal.

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF MODERN PERSIAN PROSE

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The purpose of this short article is not to give a detailed account of modern Persian prose, but rather to present a preliminary analysis in order to define the scope of the problem for further investigation.

Modern European literature began with the revival of classicism. Then with the change of the outlook on life literature successively took the course of romanticism, realism, naturalism, symbolism, expressionism and numerous other "isms." On the contrary, Persian literature, after the 'Arab invasion and the adoption of the present form of Persian language, started with realism in the ninth century. Rúdakí (834-913) was the founder of this school; and later between the tenth and sixteenth centuries the schools of naturalism, realism, symbolism, expressionism and transcendentalism reached fulfilment in the writings of such great Persian poets as Sa'dí (1184-1290), Rúmí (1207-1273), 'Iráqí (d. 1270), Ḥáfiẓ (1320-1390) and Jámí (1414-1492), respectively. The philosophical ground for the growth of these movements was individual transcendentalism and abstract humanism rather than the social life of the people. This was still more true in the case of prose which was used for the interpretation of philosophical, ethical and historical events. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries its scope of expression became increasingly limited and was directed toward religious ideals and concepts, especially Shí'ah doctrine. In the static society of this period a lack of variety both in prose and poetry is evident. Due to a lack of perspective and creativity the writers, particularly those in prose, hid their ignorance within a flowery, confused and obscure style.

* * *

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Persian urban society gradually became socially conscious as a result of political, commercial, social and cultural contacts with western Europe and Russia. Since then her culture has been constantly in touch with the West. This interaction, accompanied by a lack of social justice and security, contributed to the social awareness of urban people who in the late nineteenth century demanded social representation.

The one medium which has given the people a chance to express their desire for more active participation and improved living conditions has been their literature. But the forerunners of modern prose writers recognized the clumsiness of the prose style of that time. Thus the first move was a stylistic return which sought to introduce a simple way of expressing ideas.

The founders of this movement were Qá'im-Maqám Faráhání and his student Amír Kabír, both well-known nineteenth century statesmen. The latter in particular was a man of action with a clarity of thought and had no use for ornate speech.

As the interaction with Europe progressed this movement for simplicity of writing was encouraged. One factor was the publication of travel books. The first one of this kind was written by Mírzá Ṣáliḥ of Shíráz who studied in London in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He explains his adventures and observations in simple prose. The second one was written by Khusrau-Mírzá who headed a group of statesmen on their visit to the Court of Nicholas I of Russia. These two travel books were followed by those of Naṣír u'd-Dín Sháh written after his visits to Europe in the nineteenth century. In the introduction to the Sháh's book recording his journey to Karbalá, his secretary apologizes for the simple style of the text. Perhaps in 1871 this style was still not accepted by traditional writers. This new trend was followed by other writers: Persian merchants who lived in the West, officials who visited Europe and scholars who studied in Western nations.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century a simple style of writing had established its place among writers. In the same decade it reached a fuller expression when political movements demanded some sort of mass media such as newspapers. The first newspaper was issued by Mírzá Ṣáliḥ Shírází in 1837. This and other early papers served only to inform people, but towards the end of that century newspapers were actively related to the political movement. Because of fear o government retaliation many political papers were published outside o Iran, and often times had to be smuggled into the country. The Akhta (*Star*) was the first newspaper of this kind and was founded by Áqá Muḥammad Ṭáhir of Iṣfahán in Constantinople in 1875. For mor than twenty-five years it was an inspiration to the revolutionary move ment and contributed to the stylistic movement of a simple way o writing. Another newspaper of the same rank was *Qánún* publishe in London in 1889. It was equally important in advocating simplicit of writing. Other newspapers such as Thuraiyá (*The Pleiades*

Parwarish (*Education*) published in Egypt (1898-1902) by Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Khán, and Chanta-i-Pa-barahna (*The Beggar's Wallet*) published in Tehran in 1911 were written in simple every-day language and sought to make the public aware of their injustices. Some of these papers affected both the intellect and emotions of Iranian readers, and many articles served as literary models.

These and other papers plus a few journals perfected the new style of writing so that they became the media for improving prose writing. But before introducing some samples of modern prose it should be noted that the translation of books from European languages inspired another literary movement which contributed to the progress of prose and to the development of literary plot and themes. This translation movement also began in the mid-nineteenth century and is still continuing. The early translations were technical works in such fields as geography, history and other sciences chiefly related to military life. Then in 1865 the first Department of Translation and Publication was established by I'tizádus-Saltanat, Minister of Education. Among the early literary translations which were well received by the public was a collection of five plays written by Mírzá Fatḥ-'Alí, Akhund-Záda of Taflís and translated by Mírzá Ja'far Qaráchádághí. Another early translation was *The Count of Monte Christo* which was translated in 1896 by one of the princes, Muḥammad Ṭáhir Mírzá. He also translated some works of Alexander Dumas. Because students were generally sent to France, the impact of French literature was felt more than that of any other Western country and French literary works such as Molière's *Comedies* had priority. Later as Persians learned English, German and Russian and became acquainted with the literature of these countries, they translated other works. Since that time a few public and private translation agencies and publication houses have been established.

These three movement, namely, the writing of travel books, the development of the press and the translation of Western literary works prepared the language for the expression of social events and the development of novels, short stories and drama. Political and social activities also facilitated this literary achievement.

The pre-revolutionary (1906) novels can be classified in terms of social criticism. Among the most influential ones were Siyáhat-náma-i-Ibráhím Beg (*A Travel Book of Ibráhím Beg*) by Zainu'l 'Abidín Marágha'í, Kitab-i-Aḥmad (*Book of ḥmad*) by Ṭálibov, and two books by Mírzá Malkom Khán: *Ashraf Khán, Governor of 'Arabistan* and *Zamán Khán, Governor of Burujird*. There was also the three volume

work Ṭihrán-i-Makhúf (*Terrible Tehrán*) by Mushfiq Káẓimí. All these works were written in simple Persian for the public. The authors tried to increase the public's understanding of government corruption, to make them aware of their rights as citizens, to encourage them to participate in revolutionary movements and finally to bring about some sort of change. In this era and in the period immediately following the revolution, historical novels on the European pattern were written. One of the early ones was *Shams Ṭúghrá* (in three volumes) by Mírzá Muḥammad Báqir and it is based on an historical event which took place in Shíráz during the Mongol invasion. There are also historical novels which are based upon both ancient and modern events. Khúnbahá-i-Irán (*The Ransom of Iran*) written by A. Sharíf is based on some incidents which took place during World War I. An example of an historical novel describing the these of Cyrus the Great in the sixth century B.C. is 'Ishq-u-Salṭanat (*Love and Lordship*) written by Shaykh Músá Hamadání and published in 1919.

The historical and critical novels written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be viewed as modern Persian prose in a transitional period. Furthermore if we recognize that all modern Iranian prose writers whether conservative realists, social realists or social individualists have a deep feeling for the development of modern Irán, then this literary discussion can be further by analysing these three movements, presenting a sample of each group's work and predictin the future trend.

Conservative realism has resulted from the ideological influence of western Europe, social realism has grown out of the impact of modern Soviet thinking, and finally social individualism is the product of rich Persian classics and humanistic values.

A good representative of conservative realism is M. Ḥijází who wrote his first novel *Humá* in 1929, *Parí-chihr* in 1930, *Andísha* in 1940 and Á'ína (*Mirror*) in 1954. In all his works the author deals with the social events of urban life and his characters are drawn from the middle class. Some are like *Humá* a type of modern girl whom the author idealizes. Such a girl is one who knows the rules of conduct, is modest and behaves in a way acceptable to a conservative liberal group. In contrast, *Parí-chihr* although from the same middle class, rebels against traditional values. *Á'ína* written twenty-five years after the first novel is more comprehensive. Ḥijází has a moralistic tendency and this attitude is well revealed in *Andísha*. In his last work, a social drama Muḥammad Áqá rá Wakíl Kuníd (*Appoint Muḥammad Áqá as a Deputy to Parliament*) the author exposes the system by which a

deputy is appointed to the Majlis. His keen analysis is perhaps the result of his own insight and observation of members of the Majlis when he himself served as a deputy.

Another writer of this group of conservative realists is Jamál-Záda who is the founder of the short story in modern Irán. His first book Yakí Búd-u-Yakí Nabúd (*Once There Das, Once There Was Not*) was written and published in Berlin in 1920 and it is a collection of six short stories. The first one entitled Fársí Shakar ast (*Persian is Sweet*), presents the conflict of Western educated individuals who use foreign words in their everyday spoken language, the clergy who use Arabic and an ordinary Persian who is lost between the two. It finally concludes that the sweetness of the Persian language has some claim on both the traditional Arabic oriented speech of the clergy and the modernist tendency to employ foreign words. The second story " Rajul-i-Siyásí " (*Political Figure*) describes the rise to fame of a lowly cotton-mattress-cleaner. Encouraged by his neighbours and pushed by a nagging wife he leads a group of poor Bázár youths to Parliament and subsequently gets acquainted with the leading statesmen and in the end becomes a deputy. This chapter and three others are humorous, but the last one " Dard-i-dil-i-Mullá Qurbán 'Alí " (*The Complaints of Mullá Qurbán 'Alí*) is a realistic picture and deals with a more serious life situation. Jamál-Záda has written other short stories such as " Daru'l-Majánín " (*The House of the Insane*) and " *The Adventures of Amu Husain 'Ali* " but none of them have been as well received as the first one.

Another writer of the school of conservative realism is 'Alí Dashtí. More than any other modern writer he desires to give a picture of modern Persian women. He selects his characters from the upper class, usually those who are western-minded, wealthy and attractive. His women are frequently the product of two cultures and he presents them as wanting social equality without accepting social responsibility. They participate in social and recreational activities but turn away from contributing to the betterment of social conditions. 'Alí Dashtí can be considered a limited romanticist and his best work is probably *Fitna.*

Still another writer who can be thought of as a link between conservative realists and social realists is the well-known critic Sa'íd Nafísí. He was one of the first contributors to modern prose and has translated quite a number of French writings. He is equally at home in almost all literary models: press, short stories, historical and social novels; and among his works are Mah-i-Nakhshab (*Moon of Nakhshab*),

Sitáragán-i-Siyáh (*The Black Stars*), Farangís and Níma-i-Ráh-i-Bihisht (*Half Way to Paradise*). This last work is a critical social novel in which Sa'íd Nafísí draws his characters from the urban middle class. His fluent style, sense of humor and keen observation are combined with satire and social criticism to make him an outstanding writer.

During Rizá Sháh's reign (1925-1941) the heroism of the past was revived and press and publications were subjected to constant censorship. Writers who persisted in crossing the policies of the state were exiled, imprisoned or disappeared. In the late thirties a group of fifty-three persons were arrested and collectively imprisoned because of their political ideologies. One member of this group and a representative of the literary school of social realists was Buzurg 'Alawí who wrote his first work in 1934. Influenced by Freud, he tries to interpret his characters in terms of Freudian psychology. During the thirties he was imprisoned and when he was released in 1941 he published two books. In one of them, *Fifty-Three Persons*, he discusses the life and treatment of this group of people while in prison. The second book, Varaq Páráhá-i-Zindán (*The Torn Pages of a Prison Record*) is again a description of his years spent in jail. In the collection is a masterful essay addressed to his wife and expressing his emotions just after receiving news of his release. Among his other works is the translation of Chekhov's works, Cheshmháyash (*His Eyes*), Náma (*Letters*), Shírín, Dizashub, Ijáreh (*Rent*), Zan-i-Khúshbakht (*A Happy Woman*). Although he has occasionally selected his characters from the middle class, he does not forget the poverty and misery of peasants and labourers. He directs his philosophy toward social improvement and his clear simple style makes him easily understood.

Another writer of the social realist school is Jalál-Ál Ahmad who takes his characters from the devoutly religious lower groups. He describes them sympathetically, and skillfully reveals their mode of thinking. Among his early books is Ziyarat (*The Pilgrimage*), which describes the adventures of a young man on his pilgrimage. Another of his works is a collection of stories called Díd-Báz-díd (*Visits*) written in 1946 and based on social customs. Án Ranjí Ki má Mibarím (*The Pain That Makes Us Suffr*) and Sih Tár (*The Three Strings*) were written in 1947.

Three other writers also belong to this same group. I'timád-záda in his writings tries to show different aspects of life; and in doing so he criticizes social conditions. For instance the theme of *Zíwar* is that money, regardless of the way in which it is acquired, has become the

criterion of social prestige. Some of his other works are *Cat of Ramazán*, Dukhtar-i-Ra'íyat (*The Villager's Daughter*) and Kabútar-i-Sulḥ (*Dove of Peace*). Another social writer, Ṣádiq Chubak wrote the book Khaima-i-Shab Bází (*The Puppet Show*) *which* is divided into eleven sections, each one being a real picture of daily life. Like a painter the writer selects his subjects well and portrays them with considerable skill.

Another of these writers is Ukhúwat whose story Síb-i-Surkh (*The Red Apple*) is told very simply to express the genuine emotional experiences of a maid servant. Tired of insults and the way she is treated by her master, she decides to end this kind of life.

* * *

Undoubtedly the cultural contact of Iranian elite with both Western Europe and Russia has contributed somewhat to these writings, but in addition the universal and humanistic quality of Persian classical poets has also been deeply ingrained in the minds of many modern Persian writers. These two sources along with the element of non-conformity (an essential element in Persian culture) has produced writers who are professionally broad in scope but socially misfitted. When these people enter the arena of modern Persian society they tend to reject the social injustices, they withdraw from society and write with great sensitivity, often in a mood of pessimism and antagonism. Representatives of this group are Mas'úd Diháti and Ṣádiq Hidáyat.

Mas'úd's book Tafríḥát-i-Shab (*Night Life*) brought him recognition as a writer. Then in 1934 he wrote Dar Talásh-i-M'ásh (*Strive for Subsistence*). In these books and others his characters are rather sophisticated urbanites, and his descriptions of their night life, particularly of the youth, reveal a great many social problems and indicate the author's despair.

Hidáyat is perhaps the greatest short story writer of modern Persian literature. His list of writing begins with " Zinda-Bagúr (*Half Dead* in 1902, " Sih-qatra-i-Khún " (*Three Drops of Blood*) 1931, " Sáya va Rowshan " (*Shadow and Light* 1932, " Iṣfahán Niṣf-i-Jahán " (*Isfahan Half of the World*), " Sag-i-Vilgard " (*Street Dog*), " Búf-i-Kúr " (*The Blind Owl*) and many others. His stories total more than thirty. Humanism and nationalism inspired him to investigate and describe various social groups. His kind heart took him into the life of the lower class although he did not ignore other groups. He selected his characters and subjects with mastery and revealed their mode of life

and mind-set with great perceptive depth. This thorough understanding of the minds and emotions of people along with his own immense sensitivity gave him good reason to write. His works show both vertical and horizontal dimensions. He takes his readers to near and distant places at various times and introduces them to many groups of people who make up the world. He does not always write of the present, but takes one to the wonders of the past, describes the adventures of early man, than takes him up the ladder of civilization and dangles him hopelessly over an abyss. Not content with this he directs him to the beautiful and man becomes perfectionistic and makes a new mental world for himself ; but soon finding that the realm of metaphysics is unconvincing, he returns to this earthly world and takes in all its pain and evil. Finally having tasted all varieties of life, he withdraws into solitude.

In the " Buf-i-Kúr " (*Blind Owl*) the central character has only one legacy from his parents: a bottle of wine mixed with cobra venom. It suggests that perhaps the only remedy for an unhappy life is to swallow 'death' as symbolized in the bottle. An analysis of this character shows him to be a lonely individual deprived of almost all kinds of love and companionship at home and reared by a many. He turns to opium and lives only with the hope that his wife will learn to love him. When in desperation he finally kills her, he loses his most prized possession and the one reason for his own being. Dead, but not dead he is like a blind owl who exists but has lost his senses.

* * *

In addition to short story writers and novelists there have been many social critics who were masters of satire. Dihkhudá, a writer of the early twentieth century, was a skillful satirist as was Ṣádiq Hidáyat. In his *Vagh Vagh Sáháb* published in 1933, Hidáyat ridicules the conservative writers of the totalitarian period. Of similar popularity was a collection of essays written by the late poet of Shíráz Tavallá.

Other recognized literary works are the collection of folklore first begun by Hidáyat. Many children's stories have been gathered, of which the most famous are by Ṣubḥ-i-Muhtadí. There are also critical works and books on style by Maliku'sh-Shu'ará, beside other historical and technical writings.

In conclusion, this brief analysis discloses that the progress of modern Persian prose has been a result more of political writing than of pure literary activity. Political unrest and a new evaluation of the place of man in society brought about special newspapers whose chief

purpose was to awaken the people. It was necessary for writers to employ a simple style and direct their ideas toward public and national problems. Historians, translators and literary men were all involved in this movement. Inspiration came from European countries and the Persian culture itself. As a result three literary movements emerged as we have seen. However, there still remains an important question: Can any of these groups be considered as a comprehensive literary school ? It cannot be easily answered, chiefly because modern prose has had little time to mature, and both international and domestic factors have prevented Iran from developing a social philosophy which would give the writers a sense of purpose. However, the elements of romanticism, sentimentalism, idealism and especially realism are all evident in the works of modern prose writers. Yet they lack the social richness of a strong literary school and do not penetrate deeply into social events. Perhaps a more comprehensive prose requires more mature social conditions and freer ground.

Finally, if the greatest literary works are those which have survived through the ages and have been enjoyed by all kinds of people, then one must admit that Persian prose has not contributed to such a tradition but is still bound to place and time. Nevertheless Iran has developed in the past such universal poets as Ḥáfiẓ, Khayyám, Sa'dí and Rúmí, and there is hope that now with the revival of prose great literary prose will yet arise.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PERSIAN PROSE TRANSLATION OF THE *GITA ASCRIBED TO ABU'L-FAZL* *

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Thousands of years have gone by that the divine message Lord Krishna gave to Arjuna and through him to humanity, continues to be a perpetual source of inspiration to numberless souls. *Shrimad Bhagvadgita* ranks among the most renowned religious books and has engaged the thoughts of many prominent scholars all over the world. It has been translated into almost all the important languages.

This Immortal Song of the Lord was translated into Persian also by a number of scholars. A poetical version usually ascribed to Fayẓí has been very popular in India. There are quite a number of Persian prose translations of the *Gita*. The *Gita Sanbodaní* is a Persian translation of the Sanskrit commentary entitled the *Subodhiní*. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Chishtí's commentary entitled Mir'átu'l-Ḥaqá'iq is an exposition of the philosophical teachings of the *Gita* in Islamic terminology. There are some translations by anonymous authors also. One such Manuscript is preserved in the India Office Library.[1] In the heading of a Manuscript of prose translation preserved in the British Museum (Add. 7676), the work is ascribed to Abu'l-Faẓl.[2] Dr. Rieu points out that the rendering does not form a part of the text of the *Mahabharata* as translated into Persian by Abu'l-Faẓl under the instructions of Akbar as there it occupies only a few pages whereas this version is full and faithfully follows the text and in addition, vide the *Á'ín-i-Akbarí*, it is not mentioned amongst the translations made for Akbar.

The opening lines of this manuscript appear to be identical with those of another manuscript of the prose translation preserved in the Central Library, Patiala.[3] In this instance the translation is ascribed to Fayẓí. The Patiala MS. is a beautiful and carefully written copy. It runs in four parts, *viz.*, firstly the *Mahátmya,* that is the 'Religious Significance' of the *Gita*; secondly a translation into Hindi

* A paper read at a meeting of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations New Delhi on the 5th June 1959.

1 Catalogue of the India Office Library, Dr. Ethé: Vol. I, Column 1090 (No 1950).

2 Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum edited by Dr. Charles Rieu, Vol I, p. 59.

3 Scribe Pandit Raja Ram alias Tota. Dated 1928 Vikrami, 1872 A.D.

in Persian script attributed to Rájá Jai Singh Saváí; thirdly, the original in Sanskrit and fourthly the Persian prose translation ascribed to Fayẓí-i-Fayyáẓí. The name of Fayẓí is given on the title and appears to be fictitious.

It is probable that Dárá Shukúh also translated the *Gita*. The India Office Library possesses another MS. (No. 1949) entitled *Bhagvadgita*. It is identical with the MS. (Add. 7676) of the British Museum referred to above. Dr. Ethé points out that the British Museum copy is wrongly ascribed to Abu'l-Faẓl and the real author is Dárá Shukúh as indicated by a note on fol. I[a] of the said MS. in the India Office Library.[1]

Apparently identical with the above MS. (1949) of the India Office Library is the MS. entitled *Áb-i-Zindagí*[2] preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This work is divided into eighteen Adhyáyas. There is no clear indication about Dárá Shukúh's authorship but this work is similar to those mentioned above and considered as the work of the said Prince.

Again the British Museum Library has another MS. (Add. 5651) which differs from the above-quoted work (Add. 7676). In the introductory words the translation is ascribed to Abu'l-Faẓl. Dr. Rieu expressees his opinion in favour of this manuscript being a probable work of Abu'l-Faẓl. " This statement, the notice says, is more probable in this case than in the other, for the present translation is far less literal and written in much more elegant Persian."[3] In the words of Dr. Ethé this manuscript is 'ascribed with some appearance of probability to Abu'l-Faẓl'.[4]

Abu'l-Faẓl did not know Sanskrit. He translated the *Mahabharata* with the help of some Pandits. He does not include the *Gita* amongst the works translated by him for Akbar in the details given by him in his *Á'ín-i-Akbarí*. The *Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh* of Badá'úní also does not mention the same. On the other hand the name of Abu'u-Faẓl has been mentioned more often than the rest of the translators of the *Gita*. There are quite a few copies of manuscripts in which the prose translation is ascribed to Abu'l-Faẓl. The evidence provided by the

1 Catalogue of the India Office Library, Dr. Ethé: Vol. I, Column 1089 (No 1949).
2 Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by W. Ivanow Vol I, p. 775.
3 Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum, Dr. C. Rieu, Vol I, p. 59.
4 Catalogue of the India Office Library: Dr. H. Ethé: Vol. I, Column 1090 under No. 1950.

introductory words of such Mss. leads us to believe that Abu'l-Faẓl translated this work in accordance with the wishes of Akbar. At a number of places the ornate prose reminds us of the characteristic style of Abu'l-Faẓl.

Dr. Ethé has noticed, in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library another MS. of the *Gita* entitled the *Arjun Gita* and he apparently considers the same to be the work of Abu'l-Faẓl.[1]

The Hardinge Library, Delhi also preserves one of such MSS. This MS. is entitled the *'Arjun Gita'*. The introductory statement agrees with that given in similar MSS. referred to above.

This translation[2] is not regularly divided into separate chapters. There is, however, at places, a small gap left in between the end of one chapter and the beginning of the next where slight additional indications as to the serial number of the chapters have been given. In the preliminary words the translator says: "And it is such that at the beginning of the battle of the Mahabharata Lord Krishna instructed and urged Arjuna to fight the battle. Sanjaya, the disciple of Byás narrates to Dhritrásht".[3]

This introductory statement continues till the translation gives the rendering of the opening verse embodying the querry of Dhṛtrāṣtra.

There are a number of noteworthy aspects of the translation some of which may be mentioned as under.

Certain names of Divinity have been used in the forms prevalent amongst the Hindus.[4] Equivalents for some of the words used in the text are given either on the margin or in between the lines under the relevent words. Samkha has been translated as Mohra and the word Sankh has been written on the margin.[5] 'Ilm-i-Sánkha is written in the text and beneath that the word Gyán is given.[6] Similarly for 'Ilm-i-Jóg the clarification Dhyán is added.[7]

At places the translator has added explanations to the original readings. He has also indulged in exaggeration. There is, in addition, evidence of the translation having fundamentally departed from the

1 Cat. Vol II, Column 1673.

2 Manuscript No. 9, Hardinge Library, Delhi, entitled the *Arjun Gita* translated by Atma Ram on the 7th of Shawwál, 1210 A.H.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 1a.

4 *Ibid.*, foll. 5A, 6A.

5 *Ibid.*, fol. 2A.

6 *Ibid.*, fol. 5B.

7 *Ibid.*

sense of the original text. The Sanskrit word Chhanda *i.e.*, metre, which would have been translated as Vazn or Baḥr, has been rendered as Afsún, as in the case of the word occuring in verse 35 of Canto X. Japa or recitation has also has been rendered as Afsún.[1]

Some of the terms have been beautifully and aptly rendered into Persian. The translator had a difficult task to perform and has made new and significant contribution in this regard.

While we compare the poetical version ascribed to Fayẓí and the prose rendering attributed to Abu'l-Faẓl, we find that the poem, in certain instances, tends towards terseness. There are apparent traces of verbosity in the prose translation. Generally speaking the style of the poem is simple and direct whereas the prose is comparatively ornate. The poetical rendering has its advantages over prose. It is pleasant and graceful. The prose translation, on the other hand, is, in certain cases, more apt and closer to the original than the poetical version. Following are some well-known verses of the *Gita* rendered into English:—

"Whenever there is decay of righteousness, O Bharata, and there is exaltation of unrighteousness, then I myself come forth. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness I am born from age to age."[2]

The translation in Persian verse reads as under:—

چو بنیاد دین سست گردد بسی   نمائیم خود را بشکل کسی
که حفظ ریاضت گزینان کنم   مراعات عزلت نشینان کنم
بریزیم خون ستم پیشگان   جهانرا نمائیم دار الامان [3]

The prose translation is as follows:—

فرزند بهرت زمانی که روش نیکو کاری از جهان رو به نقصان مینهد و رسم بدکرداری شایان میشود آن هنگام من اختیار کالبدی نموده از نگاهبانی نیکوکاران و هلاک ساختن بدکرداران بجهان می‌آیم و بجهت حفظ طریقه نیکوکاری در هرجگ ظاهر میشوم.[4]

[1] Manuscript No. 9, folio 17B Hardinge Library, Delhi, entitled the *Arjun Gita* translated by Atma Ram on the 7th of Shawwál, 1210 A.H.

[2] English Translation by Annie Besant, The *Bhagvadgita*, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras p. 63.

[3] Shrimad *Bhagvat-Gita* in Persian by Fayẓí edited by Muḥammad Shfi' Kamboh, p. 42-43.

[4] *Arjun Gita*, MS., Hardinge Library, Delhi, fol. 9B-10A.

The chariot of Arjuna has been carried into the midst of the two armies. On both sides he finds his own near and dear ones assembled for the battle. In despair he addresses Lord Krishna as follows:—

"Seeing these my Kinsmen, O Krishna, arrayed, eager to fight, my limbs fail and my mouth is parched, my body quivers, and my hair stands on end. Gándíva slips from my hand, and my skin burns all over. I am not able to stand, my mind is whirling."[1]

The poetical rendering of the passage is as follows:—

درین کار حیران کارم بسی ... در اندوه و غم دلفگارم بسی
لبم خشک و مو بر تنم خاست ست ... ازین غم دل و جان من کاست ست
ز دستم قریب است افتد کمان ... که در من نماندست تاب و توان [2]

Is has been translated into prose in rhythmic language and hyperbolic style:—

نه گیرائی در دست و نه قوت در شست و نه زور در بازو و نه پاسنگ در ترازو و قوس قزح ازین اندوه غرقه خون 'چشمها از مشاهده اینحال بر مثال فرات و جیحون' در دل آتش سوزان و از دیده سرشک روان [3].

Another point to which the poet did not apparently pay due attention, has attracted careful thoughts of the prose translator. The well-known verses about the Immortality of Soul are:—

"As a man, casting off worn-out garments, taketh new one, so the dweller in the body, casting off worn-out bodies, entereth into others that are new."

"Weapons cleave it not, nor fire burneth it, nor waters wet it, nor wind drieth it away. It is uncleavable. It is incombustible, and indeed neither to be wetted nor dried away; perpetual, all-pervasive, stable, immovable, ancient.

Unmanifest, unthinkable, immutable, it is called; therefore knowing it as such, thou shouldst not grieve."[4]

1 Translated by Annie Besant The *Bhagvad Gita*, p. 11.

2 *Shrimad Bhagat-Gita* in Persian by Fayẓi edited by Muḥammad S̱ẖfi' Kamboh, p. 9.

3 *Arjun Gita* MS., Hardinge Library, Delhi, fol. 3A.

4 The *Bhagvad Gita*: translated by Annie Besant, pp. 26-28.

The translation in found in the verses that follow:—

تن هر کسی همچو جامه بود   شـــود پاره هرگاه کهنــه بود
پوشـــنده جامه جانســـت نام   خیال فنا گشتنش هست خام
نه سوزد به آتش نه آبش برد   نه مستی نه غفلت نه خوابش برد[1]

The prose rendering is closer to the original sense:—

چنانچه آدمی جامهٔ کهنه گذاشته رخت نو میپوشـد همچنان جان نیز قالب را گذاشته بقالب دیگر می درآید او را تیغ نتواند برید و آتش نمیتواند سوخت و آب نمیتواند برد و باد نمیتواند پراند، در همه جا حاضر است و پیدا است و آشکار است و پنهان نیست، اورا نه غم مرگ و نه تشویش مهلک، پس تو چرا غمناکی و ازین فکرهای بیهوده سینه چاکی .[2]

The prose translator has found occasion to introduce in his translation some terminologies and allusions which are peculiar to Persian. In this category we can mention words like Tahamtan,[3] Furát, Jaiḥún, and the like:— چشمها از مشاهده اینحال بر مثال فرات و جیحون [4]

Similarly he has compared the Sharí'at, Ṭaríqat and Ḥaqíqat with the three qualities, Rajóguṇa, Tamóguṇa, and the Satvaguṇa respectively:—

رجگن شریعت، تمگن طریقت، ستگن حقیقت، [5]

There are places where the language used is forceful. Expression has been particularly powerful where the translator had to speak of the battle. In course of the translation of the first chapter the translator says:—

— متوجه یکدیگر شدند، قیامت برخاست و صداهای بوق و نقاره آنچنان در زیر این گنبـد اخضر پیچید که آوازهای بزن و بکش و بگیر و بدار و بده و بستان همـه بر یکدیگر پوشیده شده [6] .

1 Shrimad *Bhagvat Gita* by Fayẓi, edited by Muḥammad Shafí' Kamboh, p. 17-19.
2 *Arjun Gita,* Ms. Hardinge Library, Delhi, fol. 5A.
3 *Ibid.,* fol. 2B "ارجن تهمتن"
4 *Ibid.,* fol. 3A.
5 *Ibid.,* fol. 6A.
6 *Ibid.,* fol. 1B.

— صدای پر هول و غوغای پر وحشت و شور دریں طاق نه رواق گنبد خضرا پیچید که کروبیان ملاء اعلی سر از جیب دریچهاء بالا جنت تماشای بزیر داشتند [1].

The actual scene of battle is depicted in high sounding vocabulary and impressive word-pictures. In such instances the translator has not paid much heed to accuracy in translation.

We find quite a number of instances where the feelings have flown into poetical language. There is no dearth of examples of rythmic prose in this translation. To quote just a few:—

— همه خویش و تبار و جمله برادر و یار اند و اکثر پدران بزرگ وار و استادان حق‌دار و هم مکان وفادار اند [2].

— دست بقتال ایشان گشادن و رو بجنگ آنها نهادن [3].

— راه دهن و بینی را از آمد و رفت نفس بر بسته و از غم و شادی و نیست و هست وارسته و کوس فراغت بر طارم اخضر نواخته با رنج و محنت روزگار در ساخته تکیه زده است [4].

— روشنی نور تو چون مشعل روزگار کاشف حقایق و اسرار است ذات تو از قیاس ما بیرون است و صفات از حد و شمار افزون و بیم زوال و وهم انتقال بایں درگاه راه ندارد [5].

— غافل و تیره و جاهل و خیره و کذاب و قلاب و کاهل و داهل [6].

— ناپاک و بی باک و سفاک [7].

— گفتار غریب و کردار عجیب [8].

Wherever the language has become poetical the translator has made free and apt use of figures like metaphor and simile and has, here and there, interspersed his prose with verses also. We can give a few examples as below:—

1 *Arjun Gita,* Ms. Hardinge, Library, Delhi, fol. 2A-2B.
2 *Ibid.,* fol. 3A.
3 *Ibid.,* fol. 3A-3B.
4 *Ibid.,* fol. 12A.
5 *Ibid.,* fol. 19A.
6 *Ibid.,* fol. 28B.
7 *Ibid.,* fol. 29A.
8 *Ibid.,* fol. 30A.

— معلوم نیست که شاهد ظفر در آغوش که خواهد آمد و ابکار مراد در کنار که خواهد رفت [1].

— از دون همتی مرغ ادراک ایشان بر کنگرهٔ عرش چنین پر و بال میزند [2].

— عندلیب جان را به ترانه این نغمات پر غوغا باید ساخت [3].

There have been appropriate occasions where the translator has given suitable verses to illustrate the theme. Some of such verses are as under: —

— آنها که شدند کهنه و آنها که نو اند
هریک بمراد خویش یک یک بدوند
این شغل جهان بکس نماند جاوید
رفتند و رویم و دیگر آیند و روند [4]

— هر که آید بجهان اهل فنا خواهد بود
و آنکه پاینده باقیست خدا خواهد بود [5]

— اگر تیغ عالم بجنبد ز جای
نبرد رگی تا نخواهد خدای [6]

[1] *Arjun Gita*, Ms. Hardinge Library, Delhi, fol. 4A.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 6A.
[3] *Ibid.*, (epilogue), fol. 30B.
[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 4B.
[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 5A. (حدا) ؟ حدا
[6] *Ibid.*. fol. 6B. (نحند)

THE BUWAYHID DYNASTY OF BAGHDAD

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(Continued from Indo-Iranica Vol. XII No. 4)

CHAPTER X

Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdád

The disintegration of the 'Abbásid Caliphate was complete by the year 324/935 and the historian of the Caliphate records with regret:

" Fárs went to 'Alí ibn Buwayh ; Rayy, Iṣfahán and Jibál to Ḥasan ibn Buwayh ; the Jazírah to the Ḥamdánids ; Egypt and Syria to the IkhShídids ; al-Andalus to 'Abd al-Raḥmán the Umayyad ; Khurásán to the Sámánids, and Ṭabaristán and Daylam to the Daylamites ; only Madínat al-Salám remained in the hands of the Caliph."[1]

Though the implication from the point of view of the Caliphate was one of despair yet the historian was perhaps too close to the current of events to appreciate the cultural significance of this new phenomenon. The Caliphate was undergoing a new process of re-orientation in which the centre of gravity shifted from Baghdád to the provinces and in line with the tradition once set up by Baghdád several cultural centres arose rivalling and relegating her to a position of minor importance. The Buwayhid share to the territories of the Caliphate was proportionately larger and their contribution to the cultural elevation of those regions comparatively greater. The patronage extended by many of the Buwayhid Amírs to men of learning and their generally liberal views, particularly because they were Shí'ites encouraged much notable scientific and literary activity.

The Early Period

We include in this period the reigns of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and his son Bakhtiyár. Mu'izz al-Dawlah's interests lay mainly in warfare and state affairs. Coming straight from primitive stage of society he was quite unacquainted with the cultural life of Baghdád over which he gained mastery. In a memorable visit to the palace of the Caliph al-Muṭí' he stood agape to see the effigy of a woman which decorated

[1] Miskawayh (M.) 1,366-67, I.J. VI, 288.

some part of the palace and wished that he could get a slave-girl of that type.[1] Besides, his preoccupation in warfare afforded him very little opportunity to develop cultural interests. Still it was during his reign that his Wazír al-Muhallabí was the centre of a literary circle which left its mark on Arabic literature.

The evening assemblies to which the 'Abbásid Caliphs attracted during their hey-day men of literary taste had created successful prototypes in the assemblies convened by courtiers and nobles in their private capacity. The Buwayhids were singularly fortunate in having a number of Wazírs who were themselves men of learning and patronised art and culture. Abú Muḥammad al-Muhallabí, the Wazír of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, used to hold such assemblies and the best geniuses of the period received bounties from him. Himself a poet of no mean order his poverty prior to his rise into power seems to have urged him to creativeness,[2] and when favoured by fortune he attached to his person a number of writers and poets chief among whom were the family of poets called 'Banú l-Munajjim',[3] one, 'Alí ibn Yúsuf ibn Baqqál,[4] a group of Qádis notable among them being Abú'l-Qásim al-Tanúkhí[5] (father of the famous 'Alí ibn Muḥassin al-Tanúkhí), and two other outstanding literary figures Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahání and Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Sábí. As for al-Isfahání, though he wrote the 'Kitáb al-Aghání' for Ṣayf al-Dawlah of Aleppo yet as a Baghdádí he was most intimately related to al-Muhallabí whom he praised in the most high-flown language:

و لما انتجعنا لائذين بظلـــه　　　اعان و ما عنى و من و ما منا
وردنا علیـــه مقترين فـــراشنا　　　وردنا نداه مجدبيـــن فاخصبنا [6]

"And when we intended to take shelter in his shade he helped us while he is not from me and he treated us kindly while he does not belong to us; we visited him exploring a little water, we arrived his hospitality when suffering from draught and then we were drenched heavily."

1 Ibn al-Jawzí, Hyderábád ed. (I.J.) VII, 21.

2 Tha'alibí: Yatímah (Yat.) II, 8—9.

الا موت يباع فاشـــتريه　　　فهـذا العيش ما لا خير فيه
الا موت لذيذ الطعم يأتى　　　يخلصنى من العيش الكريه
اذا ابصرت قبرا من بعيد　　　وددت لـو اننى مما يليـــه
الا رحم المهيمن نفس حر　　　تصدق بالوفاة على اخيـه

3 Yat. 11,283.

4 Yáqút: Irshad (Irsh.) V, 507.

5 Yat. 11, 106.

6 *Ibid.*, 278.

As for Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Ṣábí, about whom we shall learn much later on, he was the Ṣáḥib Díwán al-Rasá'il of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and as a writer was most intimately attached to the person of al-Muhallabí on whose death the Amír put him under arrest.[1] Ibráhím's works included a selection of al-Muhallabí's poetry.[2]

Bakhtiyár, son and successor of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, though a weak and incapable ruler, was interested in poetry and the Yatímah has preserved specimens of his compositions which establish him as the best versifier of his family.[3] He reinstated Ibráhím in his former position and also had in his service the poet Ibn al-Hajjáj about whom we have to say much afterwards.

The Middle Period: the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah

During the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (in Shíráz from 949 to 978 A.D., in Baghdád from 978 to 983 A.D.) Fárs and 'Iráq enjoyed greater measure of peace and security and consequently cultural development reached its high water mark. In the style of the great 'Abbásid Caliphs he used to hold evening assemblies, in which apart from the usual drinking entertainments by music and recitation took place. Himself a composer, though to my mind inferior to his cousin Bakhtiyár, he showed keen interest in the music played and asked questions about the songs sung.[4] The songs of the famous singers were followed by a recital of the classical poems and the improvisation of new ones by the boon companions.[5] On ceremonial occasions these assemblies were very gorgeous and particularly so on the birth-day of 'Aḍud according to the solar calender. 'Adud would enter into a large hall of audience which was brilliantly decorated. The astrologers, the musicians and a select few of his boon companions would be allowed access to him, and among them again only two or three would be permitted to sit in his presence. Then while the company would amuse themselves with drinking and music, 'Aḍud received courtiers, officials, secretaries, governors, and the leading citizens of the state, who would come to congratulate him on the occasion. The poets would then enter and sing his glory.[6]

1 Yat. 11, 25.
2 Irish. 1, 358.
3 To give one example: (Yat. 11, 5)

وفاؤك لازم مكنون سرى   و حبک غايتى و الشوق زادى
و خالک فى عذارك فى الليالى   سواد فى سواد فى سواد.

4 Abú Shujá' Dhayl-Tajárib (S.) 41; I.J. VII, 115.
5 Irsh, VI, 254-6.
6 *Ibid.*, 258-9.

'Adud al-Dawlah was a great lover of learning. He granted ample allowances to jurists, Qur'ánic commentators, traditionists, theologians, poets, grammarians, genealogists, physicians, astrologers, mathematicians and engineers. In his palace a room next to his own suite was always set apart for men of special attainments who could engage in their peaceful pursuits without interference from ordinary folk. Allowances and honoraria were fixed for them. The young were thus encouraged to study and the old to instruct. Talent and ability had free scope.[1]

'Adud himself was much given to reading. He used to take vows that on being able to master Euclid and Abú 'Alí's grammar he would give twenty-thousand and fifty-thousand dirhams respectively in charity.[2] We also learn that the Kitáb al-Aghání was his constant companion alike at home and on journeys.[3] He used to take part in the lively discussions of the savants assembled in his house.[4] Indeed he preferred assemblies of the learned to those of the Amirs and nobles.[5] That 'Adud was keenly interested personally in different sciences and learning is also evident from the following saying attributed to him:

"My tutors in the stars and their stations is 'Abd al-Raḥmán the Şúfí, in the interpretation of astronomical tables (al-Zíj) the Sharíf ibn al-A'lam and in syntax Abú 'Alí al-Fársí."[6]

These people and several others had made definite contributions to the branches of learning in which they specialised. Of them Abú 'Alí al-Fársí wrote for him the Kitáb al-Ḥajjah fi'l-Qirá'at al-Sab' (a book on seven different readings of the Qur'án), and two books on grammar—al-Takmilah and al-'Ídáḥ. The last named was so much liked by 'Adud that he was reluctant to let anyone else read it.[7] Abú 'Alí had a rival in Abú Sa'íd al-Síráfí whose "Sharḥ Sibawayh" was much in demand among the students of Abú 'Alí. These students were however interested only in finding fault with al-Síráfí's work but according to a report of Abú Ḥayyán al-Tawḥídí they failed ultimately to point out any discrepancy in it.[8] Al-Şíráfí, deprived from court-patronage for reasons not known to us, was however according to Ibn Khallikán the best grammarian of the Başrite School.[9] Another grammarian of 'Adud's court was Uthmán ibn Jinní, a prolific writer, among whose many works were a commentary of a single couplet of a poem of 'Adud al-Dawlah

1 M. 11, 408.
2 I.J. VII, 115; S., 66.
3 Irsh., V, 250.
4 S., 68.
5 Yat. 11, 3; I.J. VII, 115.
6 Qifṭí, 226; Irsh, 111, 310.
7 S., 68.
8 Irsh. 111, 85.
9 Ibn Khallikán (Cairo ed.) 11, 130.

and several books on grammar.[1] The chief merit of his many writings, says Sarton, is their philosophical treatment of philology.[2]

More important contribution of this period was made by the clients of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah in the field of astronomy (which was of course hardly distinguished in those days from astrology), and its ally mathematics on the one hand, and medical science on the other. We have already mentioned two of 'Aḍud's teachers—the astronomer 'Abd al-Raḥmán the Ṣufí and the astrologer Sharíf Ibn al-A'lam. The former was the author of several important books, namely, 'the Book of Fixed Stars' (كتاب الكواكب الثابتة) which according to Sarton is one of the three masterpieces of Muslim observational astronomy,[3] 'the Book of Verses on the Fixed Stars' (كتاب الارجوزة فى الكواكب الثابتة) 'the Tadhkirah' and 'the Projection of Rays' (مطارح الشعاعات)[4] He also prepared for 'Aḍud al-Dawlah a silver globe weighing three thousand dirhams, which was afterwards seen in 435/1043 by an Egyptian astronomer in the library of Cairo by which it had been bought for three thousand dínárs.[5]

Ibn al-A'lam was the author of some astronomical tables (صاحب الزيج). He was equally well-versed in both astrology and astronomy. His tables were used for about three hundred years down to the days of al-Qifṭí (d. 646/1248-9). 'Aḍud al-Dawlah entirely depended on his prognostications for all his plans and programmes.[6] Another astrologer and mathematician of 'Aḍud's court was Abú'l-Qásim 'Ubayd-Alláh known as 'Saturn's slave' (غلام زحل). He wrote several books on both astronomy and astrology. Al-Qifṭí relates as to how in an assembly of the learned he clearly explained to the opponents of astrology the principle by which happenings on earth are related to siderial changes.[7] 'Aḍud also honoured a scion of the 'Abbásid royal family named Abú'l-Faḍl Ja'far, son of the Caliph al-Muktafí, for his knowledge of astrology.[8]

Pure mathematics and geometry also flourished under the patronage of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. The most outstanding figure in this field was

1 Details of his life in Irshád V, 29-32; the couplet of 'Aḍud referred to is:

اهلا و سهلا بذى البشر و نو بتها و باشتمال سـرا يا نا على الظفـر.

2 G. Sarton—Introduction to the history of Science vol. I, 689.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. I, 666.

4 Qifṭí, 26; Fihr., 284.

5 *Ibid.*, 440.

6 *Ibid.*, 235.

7 *Ibid.*, 224-5; Fihr., 284; Suter, 63.

8 *Ibid.*, 155; Suter, 64-5.

Abú'l-Qásim al-Anṭákí. He wrote a commentary on Euclid and books on arithmetic, including the following on different methods of arithmetical reckoning: —

(a) كتاب التخت الكبير في الحساب الهندى on the Indian method of counting,

(b) كتاب الحساب على التخت بلا محو on counting by the fingers without subtraction,

(c) كتاب الحساب بلا تخت بل باليد on counting by the fingers without a board, and

(d) كتاب في المكعبات a book on cubes.[1]

Another mathematician of 'Aḍud's court was Abú Naṣr al-Kalwádhání who also wrote a book on the Indian method of reckoning entitled: كتاب التخت الكبير في الحساب الهندى.[2]

The contribution to medical science was even more remarkable for, apart from the books on medicine written by 'Aḍud's physicians, there arose a great school of medicine, so to say, around the hospital which 'Aḍud established. The greatest figure in this field was 'Alí ibn al-'Abbás al-Majúsí known to the west as " Haly 'Abbás " who compiled for 'Aḍud an encyclopaedia of medicine called the " Aḍudi Kunnásh " also known as the " Kitáb al-Malikí " (the Liber Regius in Latin), described by al-Qifṭí as " a noble treasure comprehending the science and practice of medicine admirably arranged." " It enjoyed," he adds, " great popularity in its day and was diligently studied until the appearance of the " 'Qánún " of Avicenna, which usurped its popularity and caused it to be somewhat neglected. The former excels on the scientific side and the latter on the practical side.[3] The name of Abú'l-'Abbás, however, does not occur on the list of physicians employed by 'Aḍud for his hospital. Apparently he did not accompany his patron to Baghdád.

As for the Bímáristán al-'Aḍudí, 'Aḍud al-Dawlah built it on the site of the old Khuld Palace. There had existed hospitals in Baghdád before his day but they were not organised like the one he established. Projects also had been formed by some of his predecessors in the Amirate for the foundation of hospitals. The Turkish Amír Bajkam had intended building one on the same site as the 'Aḍud, but had been unable to complete it;[4] and Mu'izz al-Dawlah had ordered a hospital to be built in Eastern Baghdád on the site known as 'the New Prison

1 Qifṭí, 234; Fihr., 266, 284.
2 Fihr., 284; Qifṭí, 288; Suter, 74.
3 Qifṭí, 232, as translated by Browne in his Arabian Medicine p. 53-4.
4 I. J. VII, 114.

House' alloting an annual revenue of five thousand dínárs for its maintenance; but he too was overtaken by death before its execution.[1] 'Adud al-Dawlah had a liking for hospitals and had built one in Shíráz before coming to Baghdád.[2] He completed the 'Adudí in the year of his death, 983 A.D., and endowed it with large trust funds appointing trustees, treasurers, inspectors and porters. Many kinds of drugs, medicine, plants, bedding and instruments were provided. By the side of the Bímáristán 'Adud set up a market for cloth merchants, probably to make clothes and sheets available for the hospital, and established some grinding mills on the Zubaydíyah canal of which the profits went to swell its revenue.[3]

He gathered together from various parts of his realm many physicians, the chief among whom was Jibrá'íl ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Bakhtíshú', member of the famous Bakhtíshú' family. Qiftí mentions that Jibrá'íl received two monthly salaries from 'Adud al-Dawlah—three hundred Shujá'í (*i.e.* 'Adudí) dirhams as pay for his service in the hospital and another three hundred as a courtier of rank of 'Adud.[4] This Jibrá'íl is renowned for his famous treatise on medicine 'the Káfí', a copy of which he presented to the Dár al-'ilm in Baghdád.[5] Qiftí further says that 'Adud al-Dawlah engaged some twenty-four physicians for his hospital mentioning in particular the names of 'Alí ibn Ibráhím ibn Bakhsh, Abu'l-Hasan ibn Kashkaráyá, Nazíf al-Rúmí, the surgeon Abú'l-Kháyr, Abú Ya'qúb of Ahwáz and ibn Mandawayh.[6] The first four are also mentioned by Ibn Abí Usaybi'ah who adds the names of others, *viz.* the skilful opthalmologist (الكحال) Abú Nasr ibn al-Duhalí, the surgeon (الجرائحي) Abu'l-Hasan ibn al-Tuffáh, the orthopaedic surgeon (المجبر) Abú'l-Salt, and the physicians Abú 'Isá Baqíyah and Banú Hasnún.[7]

The traveller Ibn Jubayr visited the hospital some two hundred years after its foundation and saw it functioning elaborately and efficiently.[8] During the Mongol invasion the institution must have shared the common fate of the city of Baghdád, so that about one hundred and fifty years after him Ibn Battútah found it in complete ruins. For at least two centuries, therefore, the hospital remained a place of refuge for the sick and the invalid of Baghdád.[9]

1 I. J. VII, 33.
2 Farsnáma, 37.
3 I. J. VII, 112, 114; S., 69.
4 Qiftí, 148; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (I.A.U.), 145.
5 Qiftí, 150.
6 Qiftí, 235-6; 304; 337-8; 407; 436; 438; Chahár Maqála, 70, 80-1.
7 I.A.U. 1, 1310.
8 Travels, Gibb Memorial V, 225.
9 Ibn Battutah, 100.

In the domain of literature a mass of materials was produced by the clients of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and these still await examination by the students of literature. The Buwayhid period was indeed a glorious period for the development of Arabic literature. In prose and poetry alike the writers of this period made lasting contributions. The celebrated Ṣáḥib ibn 'Abbád, in a statement attributed to him by Tha'álibí, says that the leading writers of the day were four: the Ṣáḥib himself, Ustád Abu'l-Faḍl ibn al-'Amíd, Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Ṣábí and 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Yúsuf.[1] Of them the first two were Wazírs of the Buwayhid dynasty of Rayy, while the other two were in the service of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah.

Ibráhím al-Ṣábí was undoubtedly the best prose-writer of his time. He was, as referred to above, the Ṣáḥib Díwán al-Insh̲á appointed under Mu'izz al-Dawlah, arrested by the latter after the death of his patron al-Muhallabí, reinstated under Bak̲h̲tiyár who offered him the Wizárah on condition of his acceptance of Islám, an offer that he declined. When 'Aḍud al-Dawlah came to Bag̲h̲dád he again put him under arrest merely because Ibráhím had written to 'Aḍud some letters on behalf of Bak̲h̲tiyár under whom he was then serving. 'Aḍud promised to release him only on condition that he would write a book on the history of the Daylamites. The result was the 'Kitáb al-Tájí', a book which is unfortunately lost to us but referred to by later writers as one of their main sources for the history of the Daylamites.[2] As Ṣáḥib Díwán al-Insh̲á Ibráhím set up the standard and the style for official correspondence and his letters which still survive are fine literary products. " Even to-day," says Mez, " the letters of Ṣábí can be read with relish and admiration for the command of language which enlivens even purely business correspondence with delightful diction, adorns it with pleasing rhymes and embellishes it with wit and humour."[3] The following is an extract from a letter written by him on behalf of Bak̲h̲tiyár to Rukn al-Dawlah describing the battle of Bak̲h̲tiyár and 'Aḍud with the rebellious Turks:—

فنشبت الحرب بين الميسرة و بينهم (الاعداء) منذ الضحى الى العصر
و اكبوا باجمعهم عليها و صمدوا بجدهم اليها ... و اقضى ذالك الى ان
انجدها السيد الملك الجليل عضد الدولة بطائفة من رجاله ... ثم انه زحف عليهم
زحفا ملأ قلوبهم رجفا ... فاجفلوا اجفال النعم ... فاوغل الاولياء المنصورون

1 Yat, 11, 28.
2 Yat. 11, 26-7.
3 Mez tr. Khuda Bakhsh, 243.

فی طلبهم یستلحمون و یقتلون حتی الجأهم الی عبور تلک الجسور فقتلوا و غرقوا و ملک علیهم ماوراء دیالی و احرق و نهب جمیع سوادهم و سفنهم و الماتهم و حجز اللیل عن استقصاء الطلب.[1]

"Then the battle started between the left wing and the enemy and continued from midday till after-noon and they—all of them—bent down and turned towards it (the left wing) in right earnest.........This continued till the mighty king 'Aḍud al-Dawlah reinforced it with a contingent of his infantry......Then he marched upon them in such a way that it filled their hearts with terror...and they were carried away like a flock of sheep... Then the victorious Daylamites (Awliyá) penetrated far into the country pursuing them, fighting and killing till they (the enemies) were compelled to cross those bridges when they were either killed or drowned and he (Aḍud al-Dawlah) occupied from them what was beyond the river Diyala, burnt and plundered their fertile lands, their boats and instruments, and night prevented from further pursuit."

Here is an extract of a letter in which the sovereign rebukes a rebellious Turkish general:—

و لا تری لنا یا یراه الشریک لشریکه فضلا عن المولی لملیکه و ما زلت تترقی فی اطراح الحقوق و استعمال العقوق الی ان صرت لا تحضر عندنا فی مجلس و لا ترکب معنا فی موکب و لا تهنئنا بعطیة و لا تعزینا عن زریئه و تدعی مع ذالک علینا انا نبغیک الغوائل و ننصب لک الحبائل ... لا بدلالة و لا عن حجة ... لو کانت التهمة منک لنا واقعة بحقها و مقرونة بشاهدها لکانت طاعتک ایانا مظلوما ازین لک من مخالفتنا متعصبا و انا بریئون من کل ما قلت و زعمت و ظننت.[2]

"You do not look to us even as a partner looks to a partner not to speak of how a slave looks to its lord. You continued to disregard your duties and show disobedience so much so that you altogether ceased to be present in our assembly and stopped riding along with our retinue; you did not greet us with any that we want to do mischief to you and lay traps for you......all these without any proof or evidence...... Even if your allegation would have been just and well-founded your allegiance in spite of suffering would have been decent than your rebellion, while we are innocent from all that you said, harboured and imagined."

As for 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Yúsuf he was the secretary of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and his letters, extracts of which are to be found in the Yatímah, follow closely the style of Ibráhím without, however, approaching it in excellence.[3]

1 Rasá'il al-Sabi (Lebanon), p. 26. 2 *Ibid.*, 230.
3 Yat. 11, 86-101.

A boon companion of 'Adud, a writer of note, one Qádí Abú 'Alí al-Muhassin ibn 'Alí al-Tanúkhí, who had to suffer reverses from the wrath of 'Adud, has preserved in his many writings—chiefly stories—these books—al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shiddah and al-Nishwár al-Muhádara (of the latter 3 out of 8 volumes have come down to us).[1] His story books provide us with a kind of material never taken notice of by the court-historian. This became the model for such later works as Jawámi' al-Hikáyát of Muhammad 'Awfí.

A distinguished historian of the time Abú 'Alí Miskawayh adorned the court of 'Adud al-Dawlah. He wrote the monumental work in history—'the Tajárib al-Umam' of which the parts dealing with the period between A.H. 295 and 369 have been made accessible to us. The value of Miskawayh's work as history, his wonderful capacity for character-drawing, his superiority in certain respects to al-Tabarí and his freedom from religious fanaticism, which however sometimes verged on total indifference to religious movements, are all dwelt at length and with justice by Margoliouth in the preface to the Tajárib.[2] Another notable writer Abú Bakr al-Khwárizmí, an adept in private letter-writing, (in contrast with Ibráhím al-Sábí, who as we have seen, excelled in official letter-writing), after a chequered career sought refuge with 'Adud al-Dawlah at Shíráz.[3]

As for poetry not only did 'Adud patronise poets of merit but he was himself a versifier, though in this he was definitely inferior to his cousin Bakhtiyár. Tha'álibí quotes some of his verses among which is one extemporised by him after all the professional poets present on the occasion had failed, on a rice pudding (برطية).[4] Among the poets patronised by 'Adud were Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'lláh al-Salám', Ibn Nubátah al-Sa'dí, Ustád 'Alí al-Tabarí. The poet al-Mutanabbí was an occasional visitor to the court of 'Adud and composed a number of poems in his praise for which he was amply rewarded.[5] His is the famous couplet:

و قد رأيت الملوك قاطبة   و سرت حتى رأيت مولاها [6]

"And verily I have seen kings—all of them—and I travelled till I saw their Lord."

1 Al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shidda, Cairo, 1903; al-Nishwár al-Muhadara ed. Margoliouth part 1, Cairo, 1921; pt. 11 tr. Islamic Culture, 1931-2; pt. VIII, Damascus, 1930.

2 Eclipse vol VII, v-vii.

3 Yat., IV, 125.

4 Yat., 11, 3.

5 Díwán, Cairo 'Adud's praise, vol. 11, 385-97, vol. 111, 296-8, vol. IV, 164-5, 251-62, 269-81.

6 Yat. I, 84; Ibn Khall. 1, 416.

As for al-Salámí, 'Aḍud had a special liking for him and used to say about him: "When I see al-Salámí in my assembly meseems Mercury has come down from heaven and taken his stand in front of me."[1] Regarded the best poet of 'Irán by the contemporaries, al-Salámí began to make verses at the age of only ten and the following is a specimen of his early composition in the praise of a page with a mirror in his hand:

رأيته و المرآة فى يده كانها شمسة على ملك
فقلت للصورة التى احتجبت من غير زهد فينا و لا نسك
يا اشبه الناس بالحبيب الا تخبرنا عنك غير مؤتفك
قال انا البدر زرت بدركم و هذه قطعة من الفلك
قلت فانى ارى بها صدأ فقال هذا بقية الحبك [2]

"I saw him while he had a mirror in hand as though the mirror were a disc before a king. Then I addressed the figure that had secluded itself from us for no piety or devotion. 'O the one who resembles most to the friend, don't you tell us about you without any falsehood?'

It said, 'I am the full moon and have visited your full moon and this is a piece of heaven.'

I said, 'but I find rust in it' and it replied, 'this is the remment of the waist-hand.'

His praises of 'Aḍud were of extremely high order, even better than those of al-Mutanabbí and the following is regarded by Ibn Khallikán as lawful witchcraft (السحر الحلال):

اليك طوى عرض البسيطة جاعل قصارى المطايا ان يلوح لها القصر
فكنت و عزمى فى الظلام و صارمى ثلاثة اشباه كما اجتمع النسر
فبشرت آمالى بملك هو الورى و دار هى الدنيا و يوم هو الدهر [3]

"The Creater has unfolded unto you the breadth of the vast world so that the utmost desire of the riding beasts is the appearance of the Palace before them. So my resolution, my sword and myself were in the darkness three phantoms gathered together like the three stars in the Aquila. I gave to my desire the good tidings of a king who is himself mankind, of a house which is the world, and of a day which is Time."

So great was 'Aḍud's regard for culture and learning that he established a large library in his palace at Shíráz. The geographer al-Muqaddasí was shown over it by the chief farrásh (lit. chief bed-maker) and reports that it was housed in a building by itself and looked

1 Yat. II, 163.
2 Yat. 11, 158.
3 *Ibid.*, 163, Ibn Khall. 1, 416.

after by a superintendent, a treasurer and an inspector chosen from among the trustworthy citizens of the town. It was 'Aḍud's aim to collect in it every book upto his time in every branch of knowledge. The library consisted of a large ante-room and a long vaulted hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the hall and the rooms he had contrived cupboards of veneered wood two yards long with doors which were let down from above. The books were all ranged upon shelves. Every branch of knowledge had its own cupboards and catalogues in which the names were registered. The library was open only to distinguished people capable of appreciating it.[1]

The Period after 'Aḍud al-Dawlah

In spite of the political unrest into which the Buwayhid territories were plunged on the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah the advancement of his reign was duly carried over into the reigns of his two sons and successors —Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah and Sharaf al-Dawlah. Thus it is under the year 373 A.H. (983-4 A.D.) in the annals and so during the reign of Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah that we first hear of the secret philosophical society called 'the Ikhwán al-Ṣafá' or 'the Brethren of Sincerity' among whose works are the fifty-two well-known different treatises dealing with philosophy, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, mysticism, astrology and magic. Ṣamṣám's Wazír Ibn Sa'dán, himself a patron of learning, in that year discussed the aims and objects of the society with the distinguished writer Abú Hayyán al-Tawḥídí.[2] Though we have no evidence to show that the society had any direct connection with the Buwayhid rulers yet the latter's patronage of literature and philosophy, exemplified in particular by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, must have created an atmosphere favourable to the cultivation of such studies as those of the Ikhwán.

As a patron of learning Sharaf al-Dawlah was a worthy successor of his father. While still a provincial ruler of Fárs he is said to have established in Shíráz a new library of his own which he committed to the care of one Qáḍí Fazárí.[3] Like the Caliph al-Ma'mún he was particularly interested in astronomical observations so that like him again he constructed an observatory inside the garden of his Palace in Baghdád in order to follow the motions of seven celestial bodies through the " Signs of Zodiac." He depended for this task entirely on his Astronomer Abú Sahl ibn Rustam al-Kúhí, who was equally well-versed in both astronomy and mathematics. Several of his books mentioned in the Fihrist are still extant.[4] He was a specialist in the

1 Muq., 449 and *ibid.* foot-note of 450-1.

2 Qifṭí, 82; E.I. vol. II pt. 1, 460.

3 Shíráznáma, 35.

4 Fihr., 283; Suter, 75-6.

instruments of observation with which he fitted Sharaf's observatory. He carried out two wonderful experiments which were in those days regarded as the highest achievement of astronomy. Thus twice during the year 378/988 he invited qáḍís, witnesses, astronomers, geometricians, and other men of learning to bear witness to the results of his astronomical observations and they duly signed two documents certifying that they have viewed the sun entering successively into the signs of the "Crab" and the "Scales."[1]

Among those who put their signatures to these documents was one Abú Aḥmad al-Ṣágháni al-Manṭiqí who was equally well-versed in geometry and astronomy. His special field was, however, the preparation of astrolabes, from which he derived his nickname 'al-Asṭurlábí'.[2] Among the other signatories was the famous letter-writer Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím al-Ṣábí, who incidentally took a great interest in astronomy as well, and who still adorned the Buwayhid court after he had suffered reverses, as we have mentioned, during the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah.[3]

To this assembly of the learned also belonged the greatest mathematician of the age. Abú'l-Wafá Muḥammad al-Buzjání, after whom George Serton has named the period of scientific development in the second half of the tenth century.[4] Born in Buzján in Qúhistán he came to Baghdád in 348/959-10. The Fihrist records the names of a large number of books by him, the scientific evaluation of which has been made by Sarton.[5] He wrote commentaries on the algebrical works of al-Khwárizmí and Diophantos and also attempted a commentary on Euclid, which he did not complete. Other works of his include astronomical tables named 'al-Zíj al-Wáḍiḥ', a manual of arithmetic for scribes and revenue officials (a copy of which is said to be available in Rampur, India), and the "Kitáb al-Kámil," which Sarton considers to be a simplified version of the Almagest.[6]

Under Bahá al-Dawlah, another son of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, who ruled from 980 A.D. to 1012 A.D. the cultural spirit of the earlier reigns was to a certain extent maintained though not under the patronage of the rulers themselves. His reign had very little of stability and tranquility to allow of any effective intellectual patronage by the Amír

1 Qifṭí, 351-54.
2 *Ibid.*, 79, 359.
3 Berhebreus, Dynasty (Beyrut), 308; Qifṭí, 353.
4 Sarten, Introduction vol. I, 'the Time of Abu'l-Wafá' p. 646.
5 *Ibid.*, 666-67.
6 Fihr., 266, 283; Sarton vol. I, 666.

yet one name stands out prominent in this sphere—that of the Wazír Abú Naṣr ibn Ardashír. This personage was the centre of a literary circle and so many poets of 'Iráq lavished their praises on him that Tha'álibí has devoted one entire chapter to a study of their poetry. His catalogue of names in a large one—perhaps the most notable being Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥamdúní, Ibn Bábak, Ibn Lu'lu', al-Khalí' al-Námí, al-Ḥátimí, Muḥammad ibn Bulbul, Aḥmad ibn 'Alí al-Munajjim and al-Sufyání, none of whom however seems to have possessed any creativeness.[1] A writer of note belonging to the literary circle of Sayf al-Dawlah of Aleppo—Abu'l-Faraj al-Babaghá—was for some time attached to the Wazír Sábúr after the death of Sayf al-Dawlah.[2]

By far the most important from an intellectual point of view was the establishment of the famous Dár al-'Ilm (House of Learning) by Sábúr in the year 383/993 in the Karkh quarter 'between the two walls'. He dedicated this building to use by men of learning. Among the books collected numbering about 10,400 there were a hundred copies of the Qur'án written by the Banú Muqlah and many autographs of famous writers. Sábúr also prepared a catalogue of books in the library, entrusting it to the care of two members of the 'Alid family and a Qáḍí and appointing the Shaykh Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Músa al-Khwárizmí supervisor of the establishment.[3] Though the fortune of Sábúr was variable because of frequent dismissal from office his institution was left unmolested and survived till 451/1058 when a fire broke out in the area and the books were objects of plunder among officials and mob.[4]

The Academy of Sábúr became a rendezvous for men engaged in literary pursuits and when Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí, the Syrian poet-philosopher, visited Baghdád in 399-400/1009-10 he not only joined the discussions of eminent men of letters in the Academy but on one occasion was entertained by the musical performance of a sprightly songstress—an incident which he celebrated in the following verse:

و غنت لنا فی دار سابور قینـة   من الورق مطراب الاصائل مهیاب [5]

"There appeared to us in the House of Sábúr a songstress, made of silver gay in the evening and excited."

[1] Yat. II, 290-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, 174.
[3] I. J. VII, 173; Ath. IX, 246, X, 5 Yáqút, Buldán vol. I, 799 art. Margoliouth, Letters of Abu'l-'Alá p. XXIV.
[4] Ath. X, 5.
[5] Ibn Khall. 1, 200.

There al-Ma'arri came into touch with many literary figures of the period whom he mentions in his works *e.g.* al-Maghribí, Ibn Fawrázá, Abú 'Bakr al-Sábúní and Abu'l-Qásim ibn Jalabát. He also mentions that he once attended a lecture of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Rabá'í, regarded as the best grammarian of the time.[1]

Among the nobles of Bahá al-Dawlah the chief literary figure was the Sharíf Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Raḍi, the Registrar of the 'Alids. A distinguished poet and a master of elegy al-Raḍí was regarded by the contemporaries as the greatest poet ever produced by the tribe of Quraysh.[2] He was intimately connected with Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Ṣábí whose death he mourned in a poem that can be regarded the best of his elegies.[3] In imitation of the Wazír Sábúr al-Raḍí founded another academy also known as Dár al-'Ilm where the scholars patronised by the Sharíf were provided with everything necessary. A treasurer was entrusted with the task of supplying the needs but when on one occasion a slight inconvenience was caused to a scholar by the absence of the treasurer al-Raḍí provided each scholar with a key to enable him to take whatever he needed from the treasury.[4]

Patronage of art and learning was also due to another Wazír of Bahá al-Dawlah, Fakhr al-Mulk Abú Ghálib, who gathered round him a number of men of letters. Among the poets of his circle was the famous Mihyár ibn Marzúyah al-Daylamí (whom we shall soon discuss), who paid him the most glowing tribute.[5] Fakhr al-Mulk also patronised a mathematician of repute in Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Karkhí who composed for him his algebrical treatise 'al-Fakhrí' and arithmetical work 'al-Káfí' both of which are extant and have been published.[6] Al-Karkhí was a supporter of the conservative Arab school of reckoning, his 'al-Kafí fi'l-Ḥisáb' rivalling al-Muqni' fi'l-Ḥisáb of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Nasawí, who flourished in Rayy under the patronage of Majd al-Dawlah. In contrast to al-Karkhí al-Nasawí was an advocate

1 Margoliouth, op. cit., p. XXV-VI.

2 Yat. II, 297.

3 *Ibid.*, 81-5 (Below is a specimen p. 83)

اما الدموع عليك غير بخيلة   و الفلب بالسلوان غيـر جواد
سودت ما بين الفضاء و ناظرى   و غسلت من عينى كل سـواد

4 Díwán of al-Raḍí (Beyrut) p. 3.

5 Díwán of Mihyár (Cairo), vol. I p. 358:- -

ارى كبدى و قد بردت قليلا   امات الهم ام عاش السرور
ام الايام خافـتنى لانـى   بفخر الملك منها اسـتجير

6 Ibn Khall. 11, 65.

of the Indian system of reckoning which had long been introduced into the Arab world.[1]

The well-known historian Hilál al-Ṣábí was also a recipient of the favours of Fakhr al-Mulk. This Hilál was the author of a universal history which like the Tájí of his grandfather Ibráhím al-Ṣábí is lost, surviving only in part in Abú Shuja Rúdhráwarí's Dhayl Tajárib and also in a fragment dealing with the history of three years (380-393).[2] Among other books that have come down to us also in fragment is 'the Kitáb al-Wuzará' dealing with the lives of a number of 'Abbásid Wazírs. The vast amount of varied and interesting materials with which, to judge from the surviving three years' chronicle, Hilál must have enriched the rest of his history has thus been lost. But even what we possess shows beyond doubt his superiority as an historian.

We may pause for a while at this stage to note some of the pecularities and trends of literature during the period. While all the poets of our period followed the beaten track harping on the traditional tune by mainly concentrating on eulogies it is only towards the end of our period that we do notice a desire among some of the poets and writers to reflect everyday themes in their writings. This realism took two different forms, one pessimistic and the other epicurean. The representative of the former school was the Syrian vegetarian poet-philosopher Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí whose pessimism could not ultimately find a solution out of the world of woes and miseries. The advocate of the latter school was the Buwayhid court-official Abú Abdu'lláh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Hajjáj, who introduced in literature what according to the orthodox standard was filth (مقاذير) and obscenity (سخف). He claimed himself to be the prophet of obscenity:

رجل يدعى النبوة فى السخف　　و من ذا يشك فى الانبياء
جاء بالمعجزات يدعوا اليها　　فاجيبوا يا معشر السخفاء [3]

"A man claims Prophethood in frivolity and who is there to doubt the Prophets? So respond, O the Frivolous Community!"

and justified his standpoint by saying that his poetry cannot be free from filth as there cannot be any house without a privy:—

و شعرى لا بد من سخفه　　و هل بد للدار من مستراح [4]

Though he was once a Muḥtasib his Díwán because of its filth was

1 For details of al-Nasaví see Suter, 96-7 and Woepcke in Journal Asiatique 1863 pt. 11 p. 492-500.

2 Published as appendix to vol. III of the Eclipse series.

3 Yat. II, 212-13.

4 *Ibid.*, 214.

proscribed for boys by the later police manual.[1] But his filth never worried his contemporaries and his poems were in great demand in different countries. Often his Díwán would sell 50 to 70 dínárs.[2] A good eulogist he was paid by a Fáṭimid Caliph 1,000 Maghribí dínárs for one single poem. He was also a satirist and his sharp tongue was dreaded by rich and poor alike. He had as his supporter in spite of his immorality no less an aristocratic person than the Sharíf al-Raḍí who edited a selection of his poems.[3] The same immoral strain pervades the writings of one Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdí, probably a disciple of Ibn al-Hajjáj, whose dramatic monologue depicts in excellent Muqámát style the luxurious and sensual life of Baghdád as enjoyed by the higher stratum of society unaffected by the the political disequilibrium.[4]

The disintegration of the Buwayhid empire was complete by the time of the death of Bahá al-Dawlah and the later princelings of the dynasty were too busy maintaining their position to be able to patronise men of art and learning. So reduced to penury was a prince entitled Jalál al-Dawlah that once he had to dismiss his porters and bed-makers on account of poverty.[5] Still this prince had in his court a poet of outstanding merit in Mihyár ibn Marzúyah al-Daylamí, four volumes of whose Díwán have been published from Cairo.[6] He seems to have depended more on subsidies from courtiers than on any royal grant. He wielded a great influence at court and took severely to task on a number of occasions his clients—all nobles and courtiers of repute—for delay in the payment of usual subsidies. A wazír of Jalál al-Dawlah Hibat Alláh Ibn Mákúlá was the author of an encyclopaedic work "al-Ikmál" of which only a portion is available in the British Museum.[7] In a period of decline when the prestige of the Caliphate was at its lowest ebb the jurists of the time of Jalál al-Dawlah, the 'Aqḍá al-Quḍát al-Máwardí and the Qáḍí Ibn Abí Ya'lá al-Farrá expounded the theoretical powers of the Caliphate in their works "al-Aḥkám al-Sulṭáníyah." The work of the name by al-Máwardí written from a Sháfi'í point of view is very much well-known to need any comment here. The work by Ibn Abí Ya'lá written from a Ḥanbalí point of view follow closely the "Sulṭáníyah" of al-Máwardí but as they wrote almost about the same time and it is not certain whether one took from

1 Mez, (tr. Khuda Bakhsh), 269.
2 Yat. II, 215.
3 Eclipse III, 404.
4 His Muqámát ed. Mez (Heidlberg), 1808.
5 I. J. VIII, 64.
6 Cairo, 1925.
7 B. M. MS. no. or. 4585.

the other it is just possible that they ventilated the same spirit writing independently of one another.[1]

Two other treatises one a scientific book and the other a manual of mathematics are ascribed to the later Buwayhid period but about whose identification I do not myself feel satisfied. The former a chemical treatise entitled عين الصنعة و عون الصنعة was written by one Abu'l-Ḥákim al-Káthí in 426 A.H. and dedicated to a certain Ra'ís Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí Ibn 'Abdu'llah, who is taken to be a courtier of Jalál al-Dawlah.[2] The other work called كتاب الحاوى للعمل السلطانية و رسوم الحساب الديوانية has been reviewed by Claude Cahen and is considered to be a work written under al-Malik al-Raḥím, the last of the Buwayhid Amírs in Baghdád. The book meant for training revenue clerks and officials contains questions and answers on revenue calculation.[3]

1 Al-Máwardí, Ahkám al-Sultániya, Bonn, 1858; Ibn Abi Ya'Lá, Ahkám, Cairo, 1938.

2 The book is annotated by Stapleton and Azoo in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal vol. I, no. 4, 1905 p. 47-70.

3 Annales De l'institut D'Etudes Orientales D'Alger, Tom 10 Anne 1952 p. 326-363.

shaken even by the Arab invasion, which no doubt converted the whole of Iran to Islam, but could not impose the Arabic language and culture on the Iranians. Contrarily, Iranian culture ventured to influence Islam itself. Sufi-ism based on synthesis of thought, was the result.

After the rise of local dynasties, the Seljuqs, Mongols, Timurids, Safavids and Qajars, the First World War threw Iran into a hopeless mess. Although Iran declared her neutrality, but Teheran became a hot bed for intrigues of the Russian, British and German diplomats and agents. Various forces tried to thwart Iran from different directions. The Peace Conference of 1919 rejected Iran's claims and imposed upon her British administrators, military advisers, arms and equipment—all at Iran's expense. Russian troops were in force along the Caspian littoral, and there was fighting between Russian troops and British expeditionary forces.

REZA SHAH THE GREAT

All of a sudden in 1921, Iran and Russia concluded a treaty of friendship in Moscow. The weak and vacillating government in Teheran was overthrown by a combination of political pressure within the capital and military pressure by the troops, who had marched to the city from Qazwin under the leadership of Col. Reza Khan—later Reza Shah Pahlevi, the founder of the present Pahlevi regime.

In 1925, a special Constituent Assembly chose Reza Khan as Shah of Iran and the first ruler of the Pahlevi dynasty. He was crowned in 1926. He felt more keenly than any of his compatriots, the tragic contrast between Iran's glorious past and the then impotent state and was resolved to rouse the country from lethargy and to foster national unity and pride. Iran was to throw off all foreign interventions and influences to win full independence and the respect of other nations. She was to be industrialized and her social and economic institutions reformed, along Western lines like her neighbour country, Turkey. In foreign affairs, Reza Shah terminated the system of capitulations, negotiated customs autonomy, and put an end to the practice of seeking loans abroad. The right of currency-issue and interference in home affairs was withdrawn from the British and the old contract with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. was cancelled and substituted by another, more advantageous to Iran. He created an army provided with modern weapons, which soon brought every corner of the land under the control of the highly centralized government. The age-old social order was sacrificed to the new progressive regime. Nobles lost power and the use of titles was abolished. The tight grip of the Muslim clergy over

many phases of public life was a challenge to the position of the new ruler who took steps to break down their power and prestige. Religious law gave way to civil and criminal codes, licences were required to wear clerical garb, civil marriage and divorce registers were established; position of women was improved, religious passion-plays were suppressed and religious teaching gave way to state schools. The object of direct attack was not religion itself, as in certain other countries engaged in a re-working of their social structure, but rather those forms and expressions which were clearly outmoded in a revitalized Iran.

In the beginning, foreign specialists were employed to guide the programme of industrialization and the reform of finance and administration, but later on foreigners were no longer given posts of authority but were employed as technicians and engineers.

On the outbreak of World War II, Iran declared her neutrality and attempted to carry on normal relations with all the powers. She had good relations with Germany in particular, which attained first place in Iran's foreign trade by 1938. Reza Shah had a deep-rooted antipathy towards communism and its possible spread in Iran. The existence of German businessmen in the country, all well disciplined and straightforward in their relations with Iranians, could not be tolerated by the Allies and pressure was brought to bear on Iran to take immediate steps to amend the situation, which according to the Allies, was incompatible with alleged Iranian neutrality. Reza Shah stuck fast to his position and the Russian forces entered Iran from the north-west and the British troops marching across the Iraq frontier landed at the head of the Persian Gulf and staged a surprise attack upon Iranian naval forces at Khorramshahr, sinking every vessel. In the best interests of the country, the Shah abdicated throne in favour of his young, well-trained, brilliant and progressive son, the present Monarch in August, 1941. He was taken by the British first to Mauritius and later to South Africa where he died in 1944. Thus ended the glorious reign of the late Reza Shah the Great, the Maker of Modern Iran.

MOHAMMAD REZA SHAH

His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah was born on 26th October, 1919 in Teheran. His far-sighted father knew full well that the burden of governing the country, which suffered serious onslaughts from opportunist politicians from within and greedy and exploiting western countries from without, was to devolve on the shoulders of his son and to prepare him to undertake this duty, he gave him a thorough training in administration and foreign affairs.

To begin with, he joined the Military Elementary School in 1925 and after six years' hard work, he passed out of the school qualifying himself creditably in all examinations. After completing his studies in Switzerland, he joined the Iranian Recruiting Officers' Courses ultimately to become a Lieutenant in the Iranian Army.

He worked in various capacities in the army under the direct supervision of his father. It is of importance to note that side by side with his army-life, he continued his special interest in science, arts and literature. The fruition of his dream is now visible in the development of these faculties in Teheran University. Both the Science and Arts Faculties' buildings in the university campus, were formally opened by H.I.M. the Shah himself during the last two years. The two magnificent buildings can be a pride for any university in the world. The Shah has a rare collection of books on science and literature in his own palace where the latest scientific treatises in English and French as also the works of Iran's literary geniuses are to be found in the shelves of the royal library.

He is a keen sportsman from his early life. Ski-ing, flying, tennis and football are his favourite out-door games. It is entirely due to his personal interest in sports that Iranian teams participate in the Asian sports and World Olympiads, where they fare quite satisfactorily.

In August, 1941, on the abdication of his father—the late Reza Shah Pahlevi the Great, who can legitimately rank with Cyrus, Darius and Naushirwan as a great redeemer of his country, the present Shahanshah succeeded him and undertook the heavy burden of ruling a country in chaos and now for the last 19 years, he has indefatigably carried on his difficult task with wonderful success, paying due deference to the Constitution, constantly endeavouring for the amelioration of the people's standard of living and the maintenance of the country's high honour and prestige among the countries of the world.

His Imperial Majesty's accomplishments are too numerous to be counted. Generosity is his nature and founding of charitable societies, construction of cheap houses and useful dams, distribution of his personal estates to landless farmers and small holders, and his financial aids granted for the implementation of humanitarian and healthy schemes speak volumes about the magnanimity of his heart. The Seven Year Plan for the development of industry, culture and hygiene and the construction of railroads, is the index of the hopes and aspirations of the benign and progressive ruler, who, though wears a

crown, possesses the heart of a commoner, which always throbs for the all-round betterment of his subjects.

DISTRIBUTION OF ROYAL LANDS.

Iran, like most other countries of the East—particularly India, is an agricultural one and the Shah well realizes the necessity of improving the lot of the ordinary cultivator by releasing him from the shackles of exploitation. He has distributed his own lands, estates and gardens to the farmers with deeds of permanent allottment to them.

NATIONALISATION OF IRANIAN OIL INDUSTRY.

The West is long known for its discovery of Iran in the context of her sweet Persian language, fruits, carpets, wine, culture and hospitality; but in the twentieth century, the West has re-discovered Iran for her oil and all neighbouring and distant countries of the West always vie with each other in tightening their grip on Iran so as to enjoy the monopoly of her oil. The caprice of the exploiters decided the fate and the economy of the country. The Shah, after fully going through the pros and cons of the situation, ultimately took the matter in his own hands and organised it so well that today he is considered to be the greatest benefactor of his people and a friend of all the countries of the world. The help received from foreign countries is utilized for the betterment of the lot of the common man in Iran.

IRAN'S POLITICS

In the midst of the Second World War, true to the famous saying of a tried politician, Iran proved a " Bridge of Victory " and enabled the Allies to come closer to each other for efficient work. The Allies' truck line convoys transported over five million tons of war materials and supplies through Iran which ensured victory for democratic powers. In September, 1943, Iran declared war on Germany and announced her adherence to the Declaration of the United Nations and in November, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin arrived in Iran for the historic Teheran Conference. All the leaders recognised Iran's contribution to the establishment of World Peace and expressed their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

Iran suffered the severities of war, shortage of foodstuffs, inflationary tendencies in currency and many other evils which haunted every country involved in war; but the sagacity of the Monarch stood the country in good stead and the crisis passed over smoothly.

In 1945, Azarbaijan, at the instance of the Soviet troops, flouted the central authority, but by the intervention of the Security Council of the United Nations, the occupying forces evacuated Iran. In 1949, an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the monarch, which made it imperative to declare the 'Tudeh' or Communist Party unlawful in the country. The fortitude and forbearance of the Shahanshah on this most provocative occassion was examplary.

The Seven Yeaı Development Plan envisaged in 1949 is a hallmark in Iran's economic progress. The Imperial Anti-Corruption Commission of 1950 formed in response to the earlier wish of the ruler, was a revolutionary measure in services.

The story of the Anglo Iranian Oil Co. of 1951 is too well-known to be repeated here. The happenings of 1953 did not shake the ruler's confidence in his own people and in spite of his compulsory brief exile in Rome, he was welcomed back home, when the country had willingly conformed herself to the Shah and his way of thinking. The oil agreement of 1954, the Baghdad Pact (now known as CENTO) of 1955 and the Monarch's visit to India in 1956, Iran's subscribing to the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957, the Shah's visit to Rome, England and some other countries of Europe in 1958-59, the visit of the Indian Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to Iran in September, 1959 and the Royal Wedding of the Shah with Farah Diba in 1959, are some of the special events of the history of Modern Iran.

IRAN'S EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROGRESS

INTRODUCTORY. Education in Iran is as old as the Aryan race itself and from the dated records it can be traced to more than twentyfive centuries ago, when for the first time cuneiform inscriptions were carved on the walls of Persepolis and other historic sites. Zoroaster laid great stress on the necessity of educating children and the Greek historians Herodotus and Xenophon testify to the keen interest that the Iranians took over the education of their youth.

The Achaemenians and Sassanians of pre-Islamic era and post-Islamic rulers of Iran always prided themselves in being the patrons of arts and sciences. The present wide-spread system of education in Iran owes its progress and development to the strenuous efforts and interest of the present monarch, His Imperial Majesty Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. During the last 19 years of his reign, the King has taken a personal interest in this vital matter, so that the youth of the country might learn the lessons of loyalty, patriotism and service and recapture the ancient glory of Iran.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEHERAN. The University of Teheran established in 1934 under the able guidance of the eminent and experienced educationist, H. E. Dr. A. A. Hekmat, the then Minister for Education, who was for the first five years, the Chancellor of the University also. It may well appear strange that an ancient country like Iran, which has for many centuries been the cradle of knowledge, art and literature, should not possess an older university; but there always existed educational institutions of old Iranian pattern which influenced the educational system in India, Afghanistan and other eastern countries also and the university of Teheran could be considered new only in the sense that it reformed the organisation, teaching methods and programmes of studies to suit the needs of the present day.

The University of Teheran may be said to have had its origin in the old *Dar-ul-Funoon* (College of Technology), founded in 1852 with the faculties of medicine, military science, mathematics, literature and music. Islamic sciences (philosophy and theology) were taught in the various provinces of the country according to the old traditional methods. In 1934, the bill for the foundation of the University was passed into law by the Parliament and all faculties were brought under one organisation. The new law provided for the financial, technical and administrative autonomy of the University.

The University of Teheran at present has the faculties of arts, medicine (including pharmacy and dentistry), law, science, theology, technology, agriculture, fine arts, literature, veterinary medicine and teachers' training. About 10,000 students are studying at this university and co-education exists in all the faculties. For higher education, the law exists that scholarships and stipends should be given to aspirants to enable them to study in foreign universities after the completion of their studies in Iran. Cultural agreements for the exchange of students and teachers have been signed with about 40 countries of the world, and there are about 13,000 Iranian students studying at the foreign universities at the present moment, who are being entirely supported or substantially subsidised by the Iran government. These young men and women after the completion of their studies return to serve their countrymen in various ways. Provision for the teaching of all important languages of the world (including Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu) is made in the University of Teheran.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF IRAN. The Universities of Tabriz, Ahwaz, Shiraz, Meshed and Isfahan are younger and smaller than

Teheran and the strength of the Universities as it stood in 1959, is as follows:

University of Teheran founded in 1934:

Faculties	No. of Students
Arts and Literature	1200
Medicine	2000
Pharmacy	300
Dentistry	310
Law	2300
Science	800
Technology	720
Agriculture	300
Religion and Theology	469
Religious Missionaries	390
Veterinary	210
Fine Arts	270
Teachers' Training	670
Nursing	50

University of Tabriz founded in 1947:

Faculties	No. of Students
Medicine	460
Arts and Literature	570
Nursing	50
Pharmacy	150
Agriculture	160
Technology	60

University of Shiraz founded in 1949:

Faculties	No. of Students
Medicine	225
Agriculture	100
Arts and Literature	500

University of Meshed founded in 1949:

Faculties	No. of Students
Medicine	270
Arts and Literature	300
Religion and Theology	50

University of Isfahan founded in 1950:

Faculties	No. of Students
Medicine	300
Arts and Literature	330
Pharmacy	100

University of Ahwaz founded in 1955:

Faculties	No. of Students
Agriculture	55
Medicine	150

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. There are about 2000 whole-time and part-time teachers employed by the University of Teheran. The university professors of Iran are ideal teachers who command universal respect for their scholarship. They do intensive research work and are recognised to be authorities in their special subjects. It is only in the domain of knowledge, culture, social circles and international relations that the university teachers play an important role and do not dabble in country's politics. Nor the students ever think of supporting one or other political party. The university education, like primary and secondary education, is entirely free in the whole of Iran. The books are also distributed free by the state and the selection of students for the universities is done purely by merit which deters the students from frittering away their energies and taking any part in politics. They aspire to achieve top positions in their examination-results so as to be qualified for higher studies in foreign universities. Loyalty to their King and country are the highest ideals for which they are striving and all their efforts are concentrated to achieve this object. This leaves no scope for the students to take part in politics or to take out processions, for or against any political party. They are most well-behaved inside and outside the university. Military training is compulsory for all and

it inculcates discipline in an Iranian youth. To uphold the honour of his country is the aim of every educated Iranian.

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF IRAN. Certain traditional Iranian traits go to form the character of the youth. Humility, hospitality, courtesy and a spirit of accommodation are inherited by Iranians from their forefathers and the polish, good manners, commendable behaviour, sweet Persian tongue and the Iranians' adaptability of good qualities of the West, have made them good citizens and better internationalists.

Many Prime Ministers and most of the ministers of Iran have been teachers in colleges and universities and they have guided the destinies of their nation remarkably well.

MONARCHY IN IRAN. The King is a great force and inspiration for the people of Iran. A continuous monarchy of two thousand five hundred years has made the people conscious of this unique institution and now they can ill-afford to do without it.

Luckily the present monarch of Iran is very much devoted to the cause of his people's welfare and education and the people also are sincerely grateful to him for his personal sacrifices. He is the symbol of Iran's glory of the ancient past, advancement of the present and aspirations for the future as also of peace, progress and prosperity of Iran.

Iranians are not divided by religion nor by any other parochial consideration and in the universities no such discrimination can ever be thought of.

ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. In international affairs, the teachers of the universities of Iran have always taken an active part. The celebrated educationist, author, poet, politician and an eminent litterateur, H. E. Dr. A. A. Hekmat, Professor of Comparative Religions and Persian Literature in the University of Teheran has long been in-charge of Iranian affairs in the UNESCO. He has been a minister of education, of foreign affairs, of justice, and an ambassador of his country in India. He has made Iran conspicuous in the cultural map of the world. H. E. Dr. Matin Daftry, an ex-Prime Minister of Iran and at present the president of the Indo-Iranian Association in Teheran, is a professor of Law, who is a member of the international court at the Hague. H. E. Syed Hasan Taqizadeh was Speaker of the Parliament and a professor of Persian literature and

theology. Prof. H. Khatibi is the general secy. of the Lion and the Red Sun (Red Cross) Society of Iran, which is running many hospitals and other philanthropic institutions under the guidance and patronage of the Shah and other members of the royal family, especially the Shah's sister, Princess Shams Pahlevi, who is the president of this organisation. Dr. M. Eghbal, till recently the Prime Minister, is a professor in the faculty of medicine and an ex-Chancellor of the Teheran University. Professors Dr. Zabihullah Safa, Dr. M. Moin, Saeed Nafisi, Dr. Siasi, Dr. R. Shafagh, Dr. Suratgar, Dr. Isa Sadegh are all international figures, who participate in world organisations on behalf of Iran and whose contributions to Iranian culture is very significant.

The role played by the university professors, students and colleges of Iran, can well serve as a beacon-light to all academic institutions of the world as to how single-minded devotion to work can bring credit to one's country and help in propagating discipline and orderliness among students, formation of national character and a respectable place in international affairs.

In the secondary standard, there are at present 1144 secondary schools in the country where 255,799 pupils are in daily attendance. In addition to these schools, there are 55 training colleges for primary school teachers, 85 vocational schools, a school for commerce and administrative work, an agricultural school, a teachers' training college for divinity and ethics established in Teheran and other centres.

For adult education, 2000 qualified persons volunteered as teachers and 12,305 classes were held last year to teach 400,000 adults. Physical education and Boy Scouts movement receive special patronage from the Shahanshah. In short, there were altogether 612 schools and 55,000 students in 1921 in Iran, and today there are more than 15,000 schools, two million three hundred thousand students and 63,000 teachers.

THE PLAN ORGANIZATION

The Plan Organization of Iran is an independent government agency responsible for carrying out the country's second Seven-Year Development Plan. Although designing the economic and social growth of Iran is the Organization's major function, it sometimes acts as an operating agency and itself carries out certain projects. In other cases, its function is a supervisory one, when development projects are assigned to other government ministries and are carried on by them with Plan Organization aid. The Organization, in some instances,

supplies technical assistance and money on a loan basis to private organizations for the execution of some of the elements of the over-all plan.

Under the law establishing the Second Seven-Year Development Plan which was ratified on 13th March, 1956, all of the Plan Organization's financial resources were to be spent with a view to (1) increasing production (2) developing exports (3) developing agriculture and industries (4) discovering and exploring mines and subterranean resources (5) improving and completing the means of communication (6) improving public health (7) carrying out operations designed for the development of the country (8) raising the educational and living standards of the people and (9) improving living conditions.

DISTRIBUTION OF CROWN LANDS

The experiment in 1950 of the distribution of crown lands proved a thundering success and now nearly 180,000 hectares have been distributed among 12,000 families. The total land to be distributed is calculated to be 800,000 hectares among 50,000 families or about 300,000 persons. The proceeds of sales of crown lands are set aside for development purposes beneficial to farmers.

There are 4,000 looms with 400,000 spindles for cotton mills in Iran.

INDIA AND IRAN

Indo-Iranian cultural relations exist from times pre-historic; but frequent exchange of each other's cultural resources have been recorded in ancient epics of both the countries. No other two countries have this exchange on such a vast scale and it has continuously been strengthened by the passage of time. One complements the other. In the immortal words of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister.

> "Among the many peoples and races who have come in contact with and influenced India's life and culture, the oldest and most persistent have been the Iranians. Indeed the relationship precedes even the beginnings of Indo-Aryan civilization, for it was out of some common stock and the Indo-Aryans and the ancient Iranians diverged and took their different ways...........
> Iran like India, was strong enough in the cultural foundation to influence even her invaders and often to absorb them. The Arabs, who conquered Iran in the seventh century A.D.

succumbed to this influence and in place of their simple desert ways, adopted the sophisticated culture of Iran.........In India, this Iranian influence was continuous and during the Afghan and Moghul periods in India, Persian was the court-language of the country. This lasted up to the beginnings of the British period. All the modern Indian languages are full of Persian words."

The Sassanians from Ardeshir Babakan (226-240 A.D.) to Behramgur (420-40 A.D. had always aspired to create good relations with India. Behramgur visited the court of Shangal of Kannauj and the latter's daughter married Behramgur whose progeny was known as *Gardhabhil Rajputs*. Shangal, knowing Behramgur's fondness for music and poetry, despatched with him twelve thousand Luri minstrels to Iran and the place where they settled in that country, is called Luristan. Naushirwan (531-579 A.D.) married his daughter to Bapa Rawal, the chief progenitor of the Rajputs. It was in Naushirwan's time that *Panchatantra* found its way to Iran with the name of *Kalileh wa Dimnak*.

Diplomatic envoys were also exchanged and Pulkesi II, a great Chalukyan king of South India defeated King Harsha in the earlier half of the seventh century and sent as ambassadorial deputation to king Khusraw Parviz of Iran in 625 A.D. and from there in return an embassy was sent to the Indian king—an event which is depicted in a large fresco-painting in case No. 1 at Ajanta. The romance of Khusraw and Shirin is also illustrated there.

The Zoroastrians in their zeal to protect their sacred fire from pollution set their faces to India, and since then, they are living here as Parsees—a community which has genuinely contributed to the economic welfare of the country.

Islam also came to India through Iran and it was more of Persian Islam accompanied with Persian customs and traditions which influenced the Indian social life and culture. Kashmir was the first territory to absorb this influence and we find *Shahnama* of Firdausi being translated into Hindi by Bodi Butt for the first time in any foreign language. It also inspired the writing of *Rajatarangini* by Kalhan on the lines of *Shahnama*, which laid the foundations of writing true history in Sanskrit on the lines of the Muslim chroniclers.

With the coming of the Mughals, Indian courts were seething with Iranian influence and culture. Persian poets thronged Mughal courts

and we find hundreds of Iranian and Indian writers of Persian prose and poetry producing more Persian literature in India than in Persia itself.

In modern India during the last one century, we find Indian patriots and revolutionaries seeking refuge in Iran and Iranian politicians turning to India for help, publicity and propaganda, which was never refused to either.

A cultural delegation to India in 1944 and another in 1947 to the Asians Relations Conference in New Delhi, brought the two countries much closer to each other. Prior to India's achievement of independence, there was an Iranian Consulate in Bombay, but when after independence, an Embassy, two Consulates-General and a few Consulates were established in India and Iran reciprocally, the relations improved tremendously. The efforts of H. E. Dr. Ali Asghar Hekmat in strengthening Indo-Iranian relations, will surely prove an important mile-stone. His lectures on Persian Literature in the University of Delhi (published by the Iran Society of Calcutta), *Naqsh-e-Pársí bar ahjár-e-Hind* (published by Iran Society, Calcutta), his translations in Persian verse and prose of *Shakuntalá, Ba Yád-e-Hind* and *Sarzamín-e-Hind* and scores of other articles and poems by him about India, have proved the best means of introducing India in Iran.

The visit of H.I.M. the Shah of Iran to India in 1956, was a historic event which opened up a new vista of Indo-Iranian cultural relations. His Majesty's speeches on the occasion reflected his sincerity and true affection for our country and her people.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Iran in September, 1959, though brief, was full of significance. He reciprocated the sentiments expressed by H.I.M. the Shah in 1956 and legitimately took pride on our cultural relations of thousands of years. The visit is a feather in the cap of H. E. Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi and can safely be reckoned as his personal triumph. The good-will this visit has created in Iran, will go down in history as a great achievement of Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi in strengthening Indo-Iranian cultural relations.

Luckily this year the prize for the best-produced book has gone to Mr. Nehru's *'Glimpses of World History'* translated into Persian by Mr. Mahmud Tafazzoli. The efforts of Mr. T. N. Kaul, till recently the Indian Ambassador in Iran, are very significant that he has re-enlivened the Indo-Iranian Society and the Indian Club in Teheran

where Indians and Iranians meet together to foster Indo-Iranian better understanding. The *Hind Nau* monthly and various other Persian books and journals published by the Embassy of India in Teheran go to introduce India and create an urge for a sympathetic study of our country there. Young and energetic Mr. Kaul created a definite place for himself in Iranian social and diplomatic circles.

The award of medals to some Indians by the Ministry of Education is a high mark of recognition accorded to them for their efforts in promoting Indo-Iranian cultural relations.

THE ROYAL WEDDING

The greatest event that occurred during last year was that of the Shahanshah's marriage with Farah Diba, an Iranian commoner studying in Paris, which has strengthened the royal ties with the people of Iran, and now the Royal couple is striving hard to allay the sufferings, if any, of their countrymen. They toured the country as also some neighbouring countries immediately after their marriage to create a fund of goodwill for Iran there.

HELP FOR EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS

Unluckily a severe earthquake rocked Lar and Girash thus making the entire population of these towns homeless. Immediate medical and financial aid was rushed there to rehabilitate the uprooted humanity. Their Imperial Majesties and members of the Royal Family at personal risk, undertook to render help to the people there and some of them visited the place of tragedy to console the dejected sufferers.

EARNEST PRAYERS

While offering their sincerest greetings and good wishes to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and the people of Iran on this auspicious occasion of the forty-first birthday celebrations of the Shah of Iran, who has kept burning the traditional Iranian torch of learning, culture, benevolence, peace, progress and charity, all lovers of Iranian language, literature and culture pray to God Almighty to grant a long and happy life to the Shahanshah of Iran.

Here are some extracts from H.I.M.'s addresses delivered in India in 1956, when he paid a good-will visit to this country:

> "Thousands of books, which have come down to us from the Vedic period in India, and the Avestic period in Iran comprise the ancient legacy of Sanskrit and Old Persian. Similarly, a

great number of engravings, inscriptions, architectural and sculptural monuments all eloquently testify to these historic facts. Our ancestors have always preached unity, justice and toleration to the people of the world. The leaders of thought in our country too have at different places, in poetry and in prose, spread these fundamentals of guidance for human society. If we, who are the followers of those great leaders of mankind, could follow the principles taught by them, we would certainly be able to repay the debt of gratitude which we owe to the ancient civilization of our forefathers. The progress and development of the young and democratic Government of India which is rapidly endeavouring to secure the ideals of social justice and is forging steadily ahead to achieve great and significant successes, is an auspicious prelude to the prosperity of all the Asian nations. In a country of huge minorities and different social classes, the tasks of leadership always get extremely difficult. There is little doubt that the foundations of a country can only become secure under the beneficient ideals of justice, equality and fraternity. Under such conditions alone the independence of a country can be properly protected and fortified."

"The fate of our nations is bound to the fate of our farmers. I hope that both in India and Iran, this class of population will be more and more happy and enjoy more and more civilized life."

"We are very pleased to see that in the present, we are seeking to revive this spirit of collaboration as bequeathed on us by our ancestors. We feel all the more pleased to be able to add yet another page to this book of mutual ties, every page of which represents ancient history."

"It is implementation of the hopes, the plans and the decisions of an old country with a young government trying to raise the living standards of the people. It showed to the world how free countries could do big things by their own will and decision."

"We will always look with interest the progress India is making. We wish you prosperity, happiness and peace."

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LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR OF IRAN !

LONG LIVE INDIA AND IRAN ! !

LONG LIVE INDO-IRANIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS ! ! !

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SULTAN MUIZZUDDIN'S NEW YEAR GIFTS *

By Aqa Mirza Mohsin Namazie,

Lecturer, Calcutta University

Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Dín of Ghor (assasinated in 602 A.B./1206 A.D.) once thought of extending his Kingdom far and wide. With this view he marched on a military expedition with a large army, and began capturing and subduing Kingdom after Kingdom. And subsequently he came to Gwalior and beseiged the fortress with his huge army in 1192 A.D. The seige continued for nearly four months. The Raja of Gwalior became very nervous and was drowned in deep sorrow, but did not surrender to the Sultan

In the meantime the new year festival of the Hindus had approached and as was the Custom of the Hindus, all the inmates began performing the religious ceremony inside the fortress. They were all magnificiently dressed and held a féte there.

The Raja had a very pretty unmarried daughter. It is said that on the day of the féte, wearing ornaments from head to foot and attended by sixty-seven beautiful companions and maids, she came to her father, kissed his feet and said " O, Father! this is a day of rejoicing; give us the customary annual gift in accordance with the convention of the land." " O, my daughter! answered the father, every year at spring-time. the Rajas of Hindustan give the revenue of a district to each of their daughters and adorn their heads with gold crowns. But this year I regret, I am not in a position to give you the customary gift, because another king has deprived me of the administration of my country. If you like, you may approach him for the gift." On hearing this the princess left the place with grace and dignity. Wearing on her head a bejewelled crown. she mounted on a chestnut horse and followed by a large number of girls on horse-back came out suddenly from the fortress. At this strange sight of the host of beautiful girls every person in the Turkish Army became much astonished. They could not think of giving battle to those pretty girls. So putting their swords into their scabbards, they escorted those girls to the presence of the Sultan. The daughter of the Raja. who was in the lead, prostrated herself immediately before the King. After invoking blessings on him, she

* *Fu'úḥu's-Salátín* of 'Iṣámí, Agra Edition of 1938, pp. 78-80.

said, "Your Majesty! to-day is the festival day of Hindustan and the Rajas are celebrating the New Year's day, by giving presents to their daughters and putting gold crowns on their heads. To-day, in accordance with the convention of my country, I asked my father for the customary gift, but he, having been deprived of the administration of his Kingdom, has sent me to your Majesty to request you for the Customary gift. On hearing this from the princess, the Sultan smiled and said, "Ask me whatever you desire." She said, "Your Majesty! I desire nothing but request you to raise the seige and keep your hands off my father's dominion." When the King heard this, he said, "O my child, I grant you whatever you desire of me, provided I may erect a mosque here." The princess accepted the Sultan's offer and returned to the fortress. She repeated to her father, whatever she had heard from the Sultan. Accordingly a mosque was erected and the Sultan left with his army, leaving the dominion to the Raja.

RECEPTION IN HONOUR OF MR. M. A. KASHANI

By Mr. K. M. Yusuf, M.A., LL.B.

The Council of the Iran Society held a Reception in honour of Mr. Mirza Ali Akbar Kashani, a Patron and benefactor of the Society, at the Firpo's, Calcutta, on Sunday, the 25th September, 1960. Over a hundred distinguished guests and members of the Society attended the Reception in the glittering main hall of the Firpo's. The Reception was accorded in recognition of Mr. Kashani's most benevolent act of generosity and goodwill in giving an interest-free loan of Rs. 1,90,000/- to meet the short-fall in the fund for the purchase of the Society's building at 12, Kyd Street, Calcutta. This loan enabled the Iran Society to fulfil its long cherished dream of having a building of its own on the 10th of September last.

Among the prominent guests who attended the Reception were: His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandé, Minister Consul-General for Iran in Calcutta; Mr. H. Vatan-Doust, the Iranian Vice-Consul in Calcutta; Mr. M. Kamgar Parsi, Director of the Iranian Cultural House in Calcutta; Mr. S. N. Modak, M.A., B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S. (Retd.); Dr. N. Dutt, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.A.S., M.P.; Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Teheran): Principal M. Saber Khan, M.A., A.M. (Michigan), D.Phil. (Oxon.); Principal Masood Hasan of the Calcutta Madrasa.

On his arrival, Mr. M. A. A. Kashani was warmly received at the gate by Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., Vice-President; Mr. M. A. Majid. Assistant Secretary: and Mr. F. Rahman, I.R.S., a member of the Council. As he entered the hall, he was greeted by the President, Dr. P. C. Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., Attorney-at-Law, and Al-Haj Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (London.), F.A.S., General Secretary.

As the Reception commenced Mr. Kashani was garlanded amidst thunderous cheers by Dr. P. C. Chunder, President of the Society, while Mrs. Kashani was presented with a bouquet. Then the following Address of Welcome was read out by the President:—

Respected Sir,

The Iran Society is ever beholden to you for the timely help that you have voluntarily extended at the most critical time, when the Society was in a predicament. An offer of Rs. 1,90,000|- a loan without interest, the shortfall in the purchase of the Society's building—reflects the

genuineness of your love and affection for the Society. This magnanimity of yours will go side by side with the history of the Society and will be remembered by the generations to come as a great stride in strengthening the Indo-Iranian relations.

A little over two years ago we met together to offer you our sincerest thanks for your generous donation of Rs. 10,000|- which inspired in us a greater enthusiasm for purchasing a building, where the Society could be permanently housed to carry on successfully its activities for the achievement of its noble ideal of fostering, cementing and strengthening the cultural and academic relations between two great ancient countries, India and Iran. We are glad that within two years of that munificent donation of yours, we are able with the Almighty's help and your generous co-operation to realize the long-cherished dream of ours, and today the Society is legitimately proud of possessing a house of its own worth Rs. 3,25,000|-.

Sixteen years ago, this Society was founded in response to the idea cherished by an enthusiastic professor, who, himself was enamoured of the language and culture of a country from where your ancestors had hailed. He wanted to propagate a love for Iran and her people among his own countrymen. Lonely in the field, he carried on the mission of his life and watered this tiny sapling with his own energies, blood and time and we are fortunate to find that sapling transformed into a magnificent tree today. That Professor, as we all know, is Dr. Md. Ishaque, who alone could not have ventured to achieve his objective unless he was given a helping hand by an enthusiast like your goodself. We deem it a great honour to acknowledge that your youthful spirit, magnanimous heart, charitable disposition and a genuine love to bring India and Iran—the countries of your adoption and ancestors respectively, closer to each other, helped us materially and guided us zealously in the fulfilment of our object.

We are conscious of the fact that no function, however, great and pompous it may be, can adequately express our indebtedness to you. This humble function may kindly be accepted as an expression of the deep regard and gratitude we cherish for you.

In honouring you, Sir, we are honouring our Society, which has proved itself worthy of your patronage and we wish many more young people among Indians and Iranians to come forward and give a proof of their love for culture. Let us hope that others will follow your footsteps in helping this institution in the fulfilment of its noble aims.

We thank you, Sir, once again, for your kind gesture of generosity towards the Society and pray to God Almighty to grant you a long, happy and prosperous life so that you may render greater service to the country of your domicile and the ancient land of Iran.

We remain,
Sir,
Your ardent admirers,
Members of the Iran Society.



Mr. M. A. A. Kashani



The President, Dr. P. C. Chunder Garlanded Mr. Kashani and presented a bouquet to Mrs. Kashani



Dr. P. C. Chunder reading the Address of Welcome



Dr P. C. Chunder presenting the Address of Welcome in a Silver Casket to Mr. Kasham



A Section of guests and members who participated in the function

Loud applause went up as the President presented the Address of Welcome to Mr. Kashani in a beautiful silver casket.

Four prominent members of the Iran Society recited Qaṣídas (panegyrics), specially composed for the occasion, during refreshment time.



Mr. Syed Mahmood Ali Tarzi

The first Qaṣída was recited by Mr. Syed Mahmood Ali Tarzi, which is as follows:

مرحبا ای کشتئ بحر ادب کے ناخدا

تو نے اک چشم زدن میں پار بیڑا کردیا

"بزم ایراں" تیرے ھی پرتو سے رخشندہ ھے آج

قصر ایران تیری تنویروں سے تابندہ ھے آج

"ڈاکٹر اسحق" نے جو خواب دیکھا تھا کبھی

چشم "کاشانی" سے تعبیر حقیقی بن گئی

تو نے کچھ اسطرح رفعت دی ھے اسکی شان کو
''بزم ایران'' یاد رکھیگی ترے احسان کو
روح انساں تیرے احساں کو بھلا سکتی نہیں
تیری خدمات جلیله کو مٹا سکتی نہیں



Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud

Then Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A., B.E.S., recited the following Qaṣída in the *Musaddas* verse-form:

مبارک ھو چمن میں علم حکمت کے بہار آئی
کھلینگے گل ذھانت کے صبا جاکر پکار آئی
نسیم علم آئی، زلف حکمت کی سنوار آئی
مبارک باغبان فہم و دانش گلشن آرائی

گھٹا جودت کی چھائی علم کی بجلی چمکتی ھے
نزاکت ھے عجب، شاخ ادب بھی کیا لچکتی ھے

مبارک "بزم ایران" آج تجھکو محفل آرائی
مبارک ہو کہ عالمگیر ہے اب تیری گیرائی
ستارے علم کے چمکے تو ایسی روشنی آئی
زمیں پر جیسے مہر و ماہ کی ہو جلوہ فرمائی

فلک پر چاند سورج ہیں، مگر تجھکو کہاں پہنچے
جہاں دل ہو روشن روشنی تیری جہاں پہنچے

بہت سی خدمتیں دنیا میں ہیں ہر ایک اعلی ہے
مگر اک خدمت علم و ہنر ہی انمیں اولی ہے
مقولہ اہل دانش کا ہے اور اپنا یہ دعوی ہے
حصول علم و حکمت باعث عرفان مولی ہے

خدا کا شکر ہے، ہم میں بھی ہیں مرد خدا ایسے
جو واقف ہیں کہ کیجاتی ہے خدمت علم کی کیسے

انھیں میں ایک ہے مرد خدا "مرزا علی اکبر"
جواں سال و جواں ہمت، جفا دشمن وفا پرور
صفا طینت، سخا سیرت، ہنر پرور، کرم گستر
دل زخمی کو ہے مرہم، رگ باطل کو ہے نشتر

خدا رکھے تجھے آباد تو جان مروت ہے
تو ہے مہر محبت اور ماہ ملک و ملت ہے

ملا ہے بزم کو تیری مدد سے قصر شاہانہ
ترے ہاتھوں ہی نے ہے زلف دانش میں کیا شانہ
ادا ہوجائے گا یہ قرض تیرا، ہم نے یہ مانا
ادا کسطرح ہوگا لیکن، احسان کریمانہ

ترا "مرزا علی اکبر" چرا گوئیم "کاشانی"
دل بیخود ہمی گوید تو فخر ہند و ایرانی



Prof. Pervez Shahidi

The next Qaṣída was recited by Prof. Pervez Shahidi, M.A., of the Calcutta University, which appears as under:

روشن ہے چراغ فکر و نظر، محفل کی فضا ہے عرفانی
رقصاں ہیں اجالے آنکھوں میں، ہے چہرۂ دانش نورانی

پڑتی ہیں شعاعیں چہروں پر اک موج لئے شادابی کی
ترساں ہے اداسی آنکھوں سے، لرزاں ہے دلوں سے ویرانی

اٹھا ہے اجالے کا طوفاں، ذهنوں میں تلاطم برپا ہے
دریاؤں سے ٹکر لیتی ہے، انوار ادب کی طغیانی

ماضی میں چمک مستقبل کی، ماضی کی جھلک مستقبل میں
تاریخ تمدن نے بخشی ہے حال کو کیسی تابانی

ہے مشعل راہ ذوق ادب وہ ربط و خلوص تاریخی
جو شعلۂ قلب ھندی ہے جو گرمی روح ایرانی

هر باب ہے اس کا آئینہ ہم فکری کا ہم ذوقی کا
تاریخ سے کیوں کر ممکن ہے انساں کے لئے روگردانی

شیراز میں ہندی کوئل کی دیتی ہے سنائی کوک ابتک
بھارت میں ہے باقی شیرازی بلبل کی وہی خوش الحانی

اس روشنئی تاریخی کا یہ بزم ادب ہے آئینہ
روشن ہے محبت کی آنکھیں، چشم ہوس کو حیرانی

جب شمع روابط کے شعلے، وسعت کا تقاضا کرنے لگے
محسوس ہوئی پروانوں کو اس بزم کی کوتہ دامانی

ہمت شکنی جب کرنے لگی کوتاہئی دامن محفل کی
ہونے لگی ظاہر دشواری، ہونے لگی پنہاں آسانی

ایسے میں بڑھا اک پروانہ پرواز میں لیکر بیباکی
پرواز کی اس بے باکی میں، تھی صولت و شان سلطانی

پرواز زر افشاں سے اسکی بڑھنے لگے دل پروانوں کے
کاشانۂ دانش نے پایا اعزاز بلنـد ایوانی

کاشانۂ دانش کی رونق ٹکرائے گی قصر شاہی سے
ہے اسکی بلندی تصویر فیض "علی اکبر کاشانی"

اس دور ہوس میں ملتی ہے مشکل سے مثال اس ہمت کی
ایثار ہے اور ایثار ایسا، قربانی اور ایسی قربانی

ای شمع ادب کے پروانے جلتا رہے تیرے دل کا چراغ
ٹوٹے نہ کبھی اس محفل میں یہ سلسلۂ نور افشانی

سے خانۂ دانش میں تجھکو حاصل ہو دوام سرشاری
پائے تو ادب کی خدمت سے ہر وقت سرور روحانی

لبریز تشکر جب دل ہو، کیا فرض ثناخوانی ہو ادا
پرویز خموشی دانائی، کچھ کہنے کی کوشش نادانی



Prof. Ata Karim Burke

The last poem in Persian given below was recited by Prof. Ata Karim Burke, M.A., M.Litt. (Teheran):

بـده اذن ثنا خوانی
جناب آقای کاشانی

دعا میگویمت تا سالهای دیر تر مانی
بدنیا با خوشی و خرمی و بی خطر مانی
ز شاخ خود ثمر افکن درختی پر ثمر مانی
خدا باشد نگهبانت به عالم مفتخر مانی

چـه عالیقدر انسانی
جناب آقای کاشانی

کرم کردی بفرهنگ و ادب احسان بفرمودی
باهل بزم خیلی لطف ای قربان بفرمودی

جهان علم را با بذل خود حیران بفرمودی
چه مشکل کار را با پول خود آسان بفرمودی
چه ذیشانی چه ذیشانی
جناب آقای کاشانی

به همت راه چون دادی یکی خانه خریده شد
بعزم خدمت دانش یکی منزل رسیده شد
همه گویند کاشانی به نیکی برگزیده شد
در این دوره چنین کاری شنیده شد نه دیده شد
چه فخر بزم ایرانی
جناب آقای کاشانی

بدلهای خردمندان قراری از تو می ماند
بگلشنهای فرهنگی بهاری از تو می ماند
فنا نا آشنا گشتی که کاری از تو می ماند
چه این خانه برسم یادگاری از تو می ماند
بعالم تو نئی فانی
جناب آقای کاشانی

خدای مهربان دادت چه توفیق و توانائی
براه حکمت و دانش به همکاری چه شیدائی
نه پایانست جودت را چه احسان سراپائی
یکی ممنون بفرمودی بگو دیگر چه فرمائی
توئی در بذل لا ثانی
جناب آقای کاشانی

Each poet was warmly cheered during and at the conclusion of the recitation of his Qaṣída.

Qaṣídas over, Mr. M. A. A. Kashani in a short speech expressed his grateful thanks to the Society and the guests for according him the Reception. His speech is as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour that you have this day accorded to me by

presenting me with an address of welcome couched in such a beautiful language, though I hardly know if I am at all worthy of the same. What little has been done by my humble self is for the promotion of intellectual collaboration and cultural understanding between Iran and India, the lands which are near and dear to my heart. I do not expect any reward or felicitation for this simple act. It is the duty of every cultured person to help in the advancement of a noble cause. The cause which you have taken and for which you have been working for the last 16 years is highly noble and commendable. There is no gainsaying the fact that you have practically put a bridge joining the two ancient countries of India and Iran, and the impetus which you have given has been of immense help towards the advancement of their respective cultures.

This year happens to be a turning point in the history of the Iran Society. We are proud that the Society has now got a house of its own and it is the duty of every one interested in this Society to look to its further development.

I thank you all for your hearty and sincere co-operation in building up this Iran Society—a Society for which we really feel proud.

I also offer my thanks to the members for the address of welcome accorded to me and to the poets who so kindly composed and recited their beautiful poems on me.

Lastly I fervently hope and wish that our Society will grow larger and more prosperous day by day, benefiting all sections of cultured people of India and Iran, and it is in the achievement and prosperity of our Society that I shall look forward for my reward.

Thank you.

Thereafter, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., proposed a vote of thanks in the following words:

"It is easy to offer thanks after a pleasant function. I am sure I am voicing the feelings of all in congratulating the organisers of the gathering and its revered chairman, Mr. P. C. Chunder, the President of the Iran Society.

The speeches that have been made and the poems that have been recited have expressed the Society's gratitude to Mr. A. A. Kashani for his extraordinary generosity towards the Society which he deserves well both of Iran and of India. Thanks to him, the Iran Society has been able to acquire a fine house to be the headquarters of its work and a permanent symbol of the friendship which unites Iran and India. The Society can now launch headlong into the field of work which its statutes have defined: to foster cultural relations and mutual understanding between the two countries and their people. If every member of the Society is not able to imitate the generosity of Mr. Kashani, all should be inspired by his devotion to the ideal of the Society and the keen interest he takes in its activities.

We are glad to see in our midst the Minister Consul-General of Iran, His Excellency Mr. A. A. Farouhandé. His presence shows the interest he and his Government take in our efforts to bring our two countries closer together."

The President then, declared the function closed.

The report of this colourful Reception will remain incomplete if mention is not made here of Al-Haj Dr. M. Ishaque but for whose efforts it would not have been possible to make the function a grand success. In spite of his indifferent health, he spared no pains to go through the minutest details of the Reception. The energetic Founder-Secretary deserves the Council's grateful thanks.

OURSELVES

We are pleased to convey to the members and well-wishers of the Iran Society and the readers of the *Indo-Iranica* the happy news of the successful fulfilment of the Iran Society's long cherished desire of having a building of its own. On September 9, 1960, the vendors completed the legal formalities for the sale of the building situate at premises No. 12, Kyd Street, Calcutta, to the Society, and the Deed of Conveyance was registered in consideration of the sum of Rs. 3,25,000/. Stamp duty and legal expenses amounted to about Rs. 16,000/-.

As reported earlier in these pages, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, sanctioned an *ad-hoc* grant of Rs. 1,50,000/- for purchasing a building for the Iran Society. We have already received a sum of Rs. 75,000/- and the balance is expected to be received shortly.

We offer our grateful thanks to Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, for the munificent grant which enabled us to purchase the building.

The premises No. 12, Kyd Street, Calcutta, is a three storied building and fetches a monthly rental of Rs. 1601/-. The total area of land is approximately 35 Cottahs. A photograph published in this issue of the journal, will give an idea of the newly purchased house to our readers.

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Iran Society in a serious predicament

In accordance with the provisions of the Agreement for Sale dated the 9th March, 1960, the Iran Society had to complete the purchase of the premises No. 12, Kyd Street, Calcutta, on the vendors' presenting a good and marketable title, within three months from the date of execution of the said agreement. The specified period expired on the 9th June, 1960, and the vendors proved to the satisfaction of our Solicitors a good and marketable title of the said premises free from any encumbrance and lien. They then pressed the Society hard to complete the purchase without delay. The Society had no sufficient funds at its disposal. We had a reserve fund of Rs. 76,000/- and a sum of Rs. 75,000/- received from the Union Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs as



Building at 12 Kyd Street, purchased by the Iran Society

the first instalment of an *ad-hoc* grant of Rs. 1,50,000/- for purchasing a building for the Society. We fell short of Rs. 1,90,000/- to complete the transaction, which included the stamp duty and legal expenses as well.

As the second half of the *ad-hoc* (non-recurring) grant *i.e.* Rs. 75,000/- from the Government of India or the donation of Rs. 1,50,000/- promised by the Imperial Government of Iran was not forthcoming, the Society found itself in a great predicament, and had the risk of losing about Rs. 16,000/- paid as earnest money and legal charges.

In these circumstances our Patron Mr. M. A. A. Kashani came to our rescue and offered us an interest-free loan of Rs. 1,90,000/-, which was gratefully accepted by the Society and thus the transaction was completed on September 9, 1960.

The loan given by Mr. Kashani is the first charge on the Society and every effort is being made to repay it at the earliest possible opportunity.

We earnestly appeal to the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, and to the Imperial Government of Iran to release their grant at an early date so that the Iran Society may pay back the loan of Mr. Kashani and become free from any encumbrance.

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On September 26, 1960, a Reception was held in honour of Mr. M. A. A. Kashani at the Firpo's on behalf of the Iran Society. The Society is grateful to its generous Patron for giving an interest-free loan of Rs. 1,90,000/- to meet the short-fall in the Society's fund for completing the purchase of the building at 12, Kyd Street, Calcutta.

A detailed report of the Reception, with illustrations, appears elsewhere in this issue.

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This is the most opportune moment to express Iran Society's gratitude to its Founder-Secretary, Al-Hadj Dr. Muhammad Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.A.S., Reader in the Department of Arabic and Persian, University College of Arts, Calcutta, who by his ceaseless

efforts and selfless devotion placed the Society on the pedestal of strength and glory. It was this feeble man, weak in physique and poor in resources in comparison to his ambitious but noble ideals, who faced bravely the challenge of time when no body shared his idea of fostering cultural and academic relations, through a Society, between the two sister countries, India and Iran. His sole efforts, together with the best wishes of some of his well-wishers, enabled the Society to own its building today. The idea of having a house for the Society originated first in his mind and he persued it further enthusiastically to give it a practical shape which took more than a decate. We express our sincere congratulations to this great benefactor of the Society.

Dr. P. C. Chunder, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., Attorney-at-Law, also deserves our greetings as during his term of Presidentship the Society succeeded in purchasing the building.

In this connection we have also received help, in some form or other, from Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), a former President of the Iran Society; Mr. S. N. Modak, B.A. (Cantab.), M.A., Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S. (Retd.); Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., Vice-President; Mr. R. T. Saklath, Hony. Treasurer; Al-Haj Khalil Adlkhah and Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Teheran), and we extend our sincere thanks to each one of them.

Now remains the onerous task of making the Iran Society a real centre of academic study and research, and to decorate it with a decent library worthy of high literary and research work. We appeal to our patrons, members and sympathisers for co-operation and help in this regard.



BOOK REVIEWS

BACK TO BOKHARA by Sir Fitzroy Maclean, London, Jonathan Cape, 1959, Demy Octavo, pp. 156, 18s. net.

The title of the book though romantic is somewhat misleading. Bokhara covers only a few pages of the book. The rest are devoted to the author's impression of Soviet Union in general, and Moscow, Tashkent, Samarkand and Tiflis in particular. The merit of the book is heightened because of the author's comparison, based on experience, between the state of affairs in the Soviet Union during the Stalin and the post-Stalin periods. The reviewer had keenly read the author's earlier work on the Soviet Union, "Eastern Approaches." The book under review, though shorter, is more educative and enjoyable. Last year the reviewer had an opportunity of travelling in the Soviet Union, of course as a member of a delegation, and had visited most of the places described by the author in his book under review. Bokhara was, however, closed to foreign traffic then. The reviewer is deeply struck by the similarity of his experience in the Soviet Union with that of the author. The book is an objective, yet fascinating, study of the Soviet land after Stalin. The author's conclusions are sober and lack prejudice. At places his observations are somewhat sarcastic, but they add spice to the narration. The book will stand out as a record of clear, unbiased study of the Soviet land after Stalin.

P. C. CHUNDER.

A GUIDE TO TAXILA : By Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.B.A. Published by Cambridge University Press, Bentley House, 200, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1. Locally available from MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 294, Bow Bazar, Calcutta-12. Demy Octavo. Dust Cover. Pp. X + 188 with 22 pages of photographic plates and 15 plans and maps. 1960. Price 15 Shillings.

Before Mohenjo Daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab were excavated, India prided itself on Taxila or *Taksha Shila* as it is known in Sanskrit, situated near Rawalpindi, the newly-determined capital of Pakistan. The excavation site is obliged to the ceaseless efforts of Sir John Marshall himself, who was the Director-General of Archaeology in India. Taxila was founded in about sixth century B.C. and was the most important city of north-west India. It flourished for more than a thousand years as the cultural centre of India. Asoka the Great was deputed to be the Viceroy of the place. The Greek writers bore a testimony to the greatness and cultural importance of Taxila, which was a great centre of learning and Buddhism. The Gandhara school of art is reflected most vividly in the sculptures and statues found in the place. The coins, statues, figureens, gold and bejewelled necklaces, the silverware, temple sites and stupas, scroll inscriptions and masonary all tell an interesting tale of the forgotten glory of India. Greek and Chinese travellers had given vivid accounts of this place and there was a great commotion in the determination of dates of pre-Christian times when Taxila was discovered.

Sir John Marshall treated this subject comprehensively in three volumes of *TAXILA* brought out by the present publishers in 1951, but an ordinary reader was debarred to benefit from it due to its exorbitant price. Now, an account, brief yet containing all salient features of the bigger edition, has been published for the Archaeology department of the government of Pakistan with necessary photographs and plans to suit the pockets of a common man interested in the subject.

In the introductory chapters, topographical and historical background is given so as to acquaint the reader about the times in which these newly-discovered

sites were constructed. Sir John is an authority to discuss about the material, which these buildings are made of, and one can easily assess the constructional superiority of the builders of these places.

Taxila possesses the unique distinction of being treated as a great centre of Hindu, Iranian (Achaemenian), Greek, Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical importance. Mention of it is to be found in *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* though legendary, yet it is stated there that it was founded at the same time as Pushkalavati in Gandhara by Bharata, son of Kaikeyi and a younger brother of Rama, who installed one of his sons Taksha in Taxila. The *Mahabharata* states that the city was conquered by Janamejaya of Hastinapura, who performed there the great snake-sacrifice. In Buddhistic literature especially in the *Jatakas*, Taxila is often referred to as a seat of learning and the home of world-famous scholars and teachers. The Jains claim that Rikhabdeva, their first *Tirthankar* visited this city millions of years ago and on the foot-prints of this saint, was erected a throne and *Dharmachakra* (wheel of law)—the emblem of our independent government of India today. In about 518 B.C. a twentieth satrapy of the north-western portion of India was added to the Achaemenian empire of Darius I and this satrapy is said to have been the richest in the Persian empire and it was established with its headquarters at Taxila. Alexander the Great, in his zeal to rout the Iranian empire, raided this satrapy and came to India. Aramaic was used as the medium of official communications throughout the far-flung Persian Empire and an inscription in this language belonging to the third century B.C. is found here and it is from Aramaic that the *Kharoshthi* script is derived.

The descriptions of Herodotus, Megasthenes, Strabo and Hsuan Tsang show the splendour of this region where, as a matter of fact, was the Greek greatness subdued by the Mauryans. Chandragupta from Patliputra made Taxila another capital for administrative purposes in the north-west and his son, Bindusara sent his son Asoka to be the viceroy here. When Asoka was the emperor, he sent his son Kunala, who built a large stupa here. The conversion of Asoka to Buddhism after his conquest of Kalinga, was a great event of Indian history and the statues of Buddha and the Buddhistic monastries established in Taxila and round about that place, founded the great Gandhara School of Art.

The book is a guide for a layman, but a mine of information even for an advanced scholar of Indian history and Buddhism and the style of Sir John Marshall is simply arresting.

It is felt that this book establishes a new tradition for the *guide books*, as it deviates from the beaten track and definitely adds to the information and outlook of its readers. The photographs, maps and ground-plans are an important and a useful adjunct to the book and a short bibliography and a glossary of technical terms have also been added to enhance the value of the book.

Get-up, printing and binding are excellent and the price quite reasonable.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

HINDUSTAN ARABON KI NAZAR MEN (Urdu): By Maulana Masud Ali Nadavi. Published by Darul Musannafin, Azamgarh, U. P. Locally available from Usmania Bookdepot, 104, Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta-1. Pp. 404. Price Rs. 6.00, 1960.

Long ago, the late Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadavi delivered a series of lectures on "Arab aur Hind ke taalluqat" (the relations of Arabia and India) and it was published in a book-form by the now-defunct Hindustani Academy of Allahabad. The book is long out of print nor its Hindi version is available.

The sources from which Maulana Sulaiman Nadavi derived his information were all in Arabic. Now the Dar-ul-Musannafin, with a grant from the Indian Council for Cultural Relations New Delhi, has collected together the original writings of various Arab geographers and travellers, what they have written about India with Urdu translation of Arabic texts.

This is the first volume of the series, which deals with the writings of Jahiz, Ibn Khurdazbih, Sulaiman Tajir, Abu Zaid Hasan Serafi, Balazuri, Yaqubi, Ibn Faqih Hamadani, Tahir Muqaddasi, Istakhri and Bashari Muqaddasi and it appears that there is sufficient material for another volume to continue the subject.

No doubt, it provides a good deal of geographical and historical data as regards India and it serves a great purpose in dispelling this wrong impression that the Muslims came to India only for loot and plunder or for the propagation of their faith. Even before Islam, Arabs had cultural and commercial contacts with India and after Islam, the ties were strengthened. Because the Arabs first came as traders, they had contacts only with the Indian ports, where their ships could navigate and as such, South India and West Indian ports were generally frequented by them.

The Muslim politicians came on the Indian scene much later through Khyber Pass in the north-west. The places, where Muslims as traders, came first, were the last to be annexed by the Muslim rulers, from which quite rational inferences can be drawn. The chronological table of annexation given underneath will establish the truth of this fact:

The Punjab was annexed in 1023 A.D.

Sind in 1186 A.D.

Delhi, Kannauj, Oudh and Banaras in 1193 A.D.

Bihar and Bengal in 1195—1199 A.D.

Deccan in 1294 A.D.

Gujarat in 1297 A.D.

Maharashtra in 1312 A.D.

The facts given in the book under review, are a useful material for the history of India. The writings, in these cases, were spontaneous and without any political pressure. The Arabic sources were quoted by Eastern and Western scholars but no regular effort was made to search them out and make them available in translations. Elliot, first of all, tried at this, but he had the British diplomacy before him, which he was to conform to, and he, in many cases, left out the important things. Now with the general development of literary, cultural and scientific methods of research, the original source-books have been unearthed and published and it has become imperative to get as much benefit out of them as possible. The Dar-ul-Musannafin deserves congratulations of all lovers of Indian history and culture for providing them with extracts from Arabic originals with their translation in Urdu, whatever these geographers wrote about India before the establishment of Muslim rule here.

As is given in the introduction, the compilation and the translation of the book was entrusted to Maulvi Zia-ud-Din Islahi, but because he could not do this task up to the established standards and traditional accuracy of the Dar-ul-Musannafin, it was to be done by the present compiler in much haste, which has left many lacunae in the book and which the publishers have promised to remove in the subsequent editions. Despite all this, the book does not lose its utility and is a mine of information for all those students, who want to know as to how early Arabs looked towards India. It is hoped that the subsequent volumes will also be ready soon to give a complete picture of Arab conception of India.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

حکومت را سر ایدون لتینز (Sir Edwin Lutyens) کشیده بود در سائر ساختمانها سبک پیلادی (Palladian) بروز داده شده است، هنوز هردو معمار سبک مخصوص هندی را در نظر داشتند مثلاً ایوان بالا خانه (برای خنک داشتن دیوارها) ، سقف‌هاي چتر نما (نشان شهنشاهی هند است) و پنجره‌های مشبک ساخته شد .

سر ایدون لتینز در ساختن قصر حکومت نسبت به عمارات سر هربرت بیکر یک قدم جلو تر نهاد . او بجای طرز انگلیسی و ایتالیائی فن هندی (هردو هندو و مسلم) را ترجیح داد .

باید دانست که اسمهای " دهلی نو " و " دهلی کهنه " تازه نیست حتی در دورهٔ فیروز شاه تغلق هم علاقهٔ "سیری علاء الدین خلجی" و "جهان پناه" محمد تغلق را "دهلی کهنه" میگفتند و در دورهٔ سلاطین سوریه (۱۵۳۹م—۱۵۵۵م) دهلی شیر شاه را که شامل " دین پناه " همایون بود "دهلی نو" و اطراف قطب منار را "دهلی کهنه" می‌نامیدند .

بهترین نمونه‌های فن سبک معماری افغانان ''مقابر سلاطین لودیه'' در خیر پور، ''مسجد موت'' (Moth) و ''مسجد قلعه کهنه'' میباشند.

شهر هفتم: شهر هفتم دهلی بامر امپراطور شاهجهان (۱۶۲۷م—۱۶۵۸م) در سالهای بین ۱۶۳۸م و ۱۶۴۸م بنا نهاده و بنام ''شاهجهان آباد'' نامیده شد. فن معمارئی مغولان به سه دوره تقسیم میشود. (۱) دورهٔ نخستین از ۱۵۲۶-۱۶۲۷م دارای حکومتهای بابر، همایون، اکبر و جهانگیر است. (۲) دورهٔ دوم از ۱۶۲۷—۱۷۰۷م شامل عمارات شاه جهان و اورنگ زیب میباشد. (۳) دورهٔ سوم از ۱۷۰۷م تا ۱۸۵۸م قرار میگیرد.

در دهلی اولین و مهمترین عمارات به سبک مغولی ''مقبرهٔ همایون'' و روضهٔ ''اتگاخان'' میباشند. در دورهٔ دوم ''قلعهٔ سرخ دهلی'' و قصور داخل قلعه ''مسجد جامع'' ''مسجد فتحپوری'' ''موتی مسجد'' و ''زینت‌المساجد'' هستند. عمارات دورهٔ آخر ''مقبرهٔ صفدر جنگ'' ''هرسه مسجد زرین'' و ''موتی مسجد'' در مهرولی بشمار می آیند.

مختصرا در عمارات ابتدای استحکام و پائداری، در ساختمانهای وسطی تناسب کامل، حسن و نزاکت (باستثنای بعضی ساختمانهای اورنگ زیب) و در عمارات دورهٔ آخر فقدان هیئت و سطح و شعور حسن و تناسب بنظر میرسد. مزایای سبک شاهجهانی عبارت است از ''نه گوش محرابهای مرغوله دار'' ''گنبدهای بیضاوی در گلو قدری خم دار'' ''دف‌های بلند'' (High drums) ''ستون‌های هشت پهلو'' ''منارهای گاؤ دم'' و ''گنبدها و ستون‌های دوتای''.

در دورهٔ تسلط انگلیسها (۱۸۵۷—۱۹۴۷م) شهر کلکته تا سال ۱۹۱۱م پایتخت ماند. چون رسم تاجپوشئی جارج پنجم بتاریخ ۱۲ دسامبر ۱۹۱۱ میلادی در قلعهٔ سرخ ادا شد بهمان وقت خبر انتقال پایتخت از کلکته به دهلی اعلام گردید و پس از چندی بنای پایتخت جدید نهاده شد که اکنون موسوم به دهلی نو است، تپهٔ رای‌سینا برای ساختن کاخ نائب‌السلطنت و ادارهٔ مرکزی سه طبقه‌ای انتخاب شد (اکنون کاخ نائب‌السلطنت را ''راشتراپاتی بون'' و ادارهٔ مرکزی دولت را بلوک‌های شمالی و جنوبی میگویند).

نقشهٔ هر دو بلوک را سر هربرت بیکر (Sir Herbert Baker) و نقشه کاخ

هر دو جانب بنای حصار را اهمیت داد این طور شهر چهارم که معروف به "جهان پناه" است در معرض وجود آمد، چون محمد تغلق پایتخت حکومت خود را از دهلی به "دیوگیری" که در دکن است و در کتب تاریخ آنرا "دولت آباد" می‌نامند انتقال داد "جهان پناه" ویران گردید اما پس از چندی محمد تغلق بدهلی باز گشت.

شهر پنجم: فیروز تغلق جانشین محمد تغلق (۱۳۵۱م—۱۳۸۸م) شهر نو بسال ۱۳۵۴م ساخت و آن شهر را "فیروز آباد" نامید این شهر در شمال مشرقی بجانب "سیری" در حدود چهار و پنج میل قرار دارد که دارای پاره‌ای از اطراف "شاه جهان آباد" هم میباشد و جانب شمال تا پشتهٔ کوهی (Mountain ridge) کشاده و فراخ است. عمارت زیبائی این دوره شامل شهر "تغلق آباد" "قلعه عادل آباد" "مقابر تغلق شاه" "محمد شاه" و "فیروز شاه" دو مساجد کلان" "کرکی مسجد" و "مسجد بیگم پوری" میباشند.

سبک معماری دورهٔ تغلقیه برای ثبات و پائداری، عمارات معراء و ساده، دیوارهای وسیع در پائین و تدریجا تنگ بجانب بالا شهرت دارد. گاه گاهی نقش و نگار و زیب و زینت که از مزایای دورهٔ خلجیه بود یکسر معدوم گردید.

شهر ششم: پس از فتح مغولان امپراطوار همایون (۱۵۳۰م—۱۵۳۹م و ۱۵۵۵م—۱۵۵۶م) پسر بابر بسال ۱۵۳۳—۱۵۳۴ میلادی در اطراف شهر باستان معروف به "اندرپرست" بنای قلعه کهنه نهاد و مجدداً "اندرپرست" را تعمیر نموده آنرا باسم "دین پناه" نامید. اما در سال ۱۵۳۹م پادشاه افغان شیر شاه سوری (۱۵۳۹م—۱۵۴۵م) همایون را تبعید کرد و خود درمیان "اندرپرست" و "فیرز آباد" حصار شهر ساخت، پس از درگذشتن وی پسرش اسلام شاه سوری (۱۵۴۵م—۱۵۵۲م) آنرا بپایان رسانید. شیر شاه بنای "دین پناه" را مستحکم ساخت و نیز در آن مسجدی قشنگ و عمارتی که امروز موسوم به "بجی منڈل" که اصلاً "بدیع منزل" است بنا کرد. همایون عمارت مزبور را کتابخانه خود ساخت. در سال ۱۵۵۶ میلادی روزی هنگام غروب از پله‌های کتابخانه همایون لغزید و وی بدرود حیات گفت.

شهر دوم: در اواخر قرن دوازدهم شهاب الدین محمد غوری مهاراجه پرتوی راج را شکست داده دهلی را در تسلط خود آورد و قلعه رای‌پتورا را پایتخت خود ساخت که تا پایان قرن سیزدهم میلادی امتداد یافت بناهای آن دوره ''قطب منار'' ''مسجد قوت الاسلام'' ''مقبرۀ سلطان غازی'' (Sultan of the cave) ''مقبره التمش'' وغیره میباشند. پس ازان جلال‌الدین (۱۲۹۰–۱۲۹۵م) مؤسس خاندان خلجیه ''کیلوکری'' (نزد مقبرۀ همایون) را پایتخت خود ساخت، چون وی در سال ۱۲۹۵م بدست برادر زاده و دامادش بقتل رسید مقام ''کیلوکری'' نتوانست دیگر کاملاً حیثیت پایتخت بماند. چون در سال ۱۳۰۳م طائفۀ مغولان بدهلی حمله کردند علاء‌الدین خلجی (۱۲۹۵–۱۳۱۵م) جانشین و برادر زادۀ جلال الدین عساکر خود را در ''سیری'' مقابل مغولان متعین کرد. پس از شکست مغولان شهر نو بنا کرد.

عمارت قابل ذکر دورۀ خلجیه عبارت اند از توسیع ''مسجد قوت الاسلام'' ''دروازه علائی'' و ''منار علائی'' (که بر طبق نقشه اش باید نسبت به ''قطب منار'' دو چند باشد اما فقط طبقۀ نخستین ساخته شده بود که علاء الدین خلجی وفات یافت و منار مزبور بپایان نرسید) ''مسجد جامع'' در پهلوی خانقاه حضرت نظام الدین اولیاء رح وغیره.

سبک معماری دورۀ خلجیه فراوانئی نقش و نگار، آرائش و زیبائش، تفصیلات جزئیات را نشان می‌دهد. در دورۀ سلاطین تغلقیه مقابل اینها ساختمانهای معراء از زیب و زینت و قطعات گنبدی مثلث ساختند.

شهر سوم: دورۀ تغلقیه (۱۳۲۰م–۱۴۱۲م) سه شهرهای جداگانه بنا نهاده شد باعتبار ترتیب تاریخی دهلی سوم ''تغلق‌آباد'' است. شهر مزبور را غیاث الدین تغلق (۱۳۲۰م–۱۳۲۵م) مؤسس خاندان تغلقیه در مدت چهار سال بر تپه‌ای ساخته بود. اما بعلت قلت آب این شهر بزودی ویران گردید.

شهر چهارم: چون بیشتر اهالی و مردمان میان دهلی کهنه (یعنی دهلی پرتوی راج و سلسلۀ ممالیک) و سیرئی علاء‌الدین خلجی همواره در خطر میزیستند بدین وجه سلطان محمد تغلق (۱۳۲۵–۱۳۵۱م) برای متصل کردن هر دو شهر

نظری بتاریخچهٔ شهر دهلی

نگارش سید یوسف کمال بخاری ایم - اے

دهلی هند و رم پایتخت ایتالیا از نظر باستان شناسی شباهت زیادی وجود دارد بطوریکه می‌دانیم تپهٔ رم و شهر دهلی هفت بار ساخته و مجدداً بنا شد، آثار بناهای باستانی که بر روی هفت تپهٔ رم در قدیم ساخته شده بود بطور روشن نمایان نیست اما خرابه‌های شهر دهلی را که دوازده میل طول و شش میل عرض دارد بآسانی میتوان مشاهده کرد .

دهلی شهر باستانی است که تاریخ آن درست معلوم نیست بطوریکه میگویند تاریخ آن با تاریخ جنگ مهابارت یکیست . جای را که امروز در آن قلعهٔ کهنه بر پا است در قدیم بنام "اندرپرست" می‌نامیدند و آنرا "پاندوان" ویران ساختند بطوریکه نقل کرده‌اند، روزی "یدشتر" پادشاه هند سرپوش ظرف طعام را برداشت و مگسی را در آن طعام دید و آنرا بفال بد گرفت و دلیل زوال دولت خوددانست ولی این شهادت تاریخی ندارد.

شهر اول : از مطالعه تاریخ واضح میشود که در قرن یازدهم میلادی این شهر بسیار آباد بوده است . هنگامیکه سلطان محمود غزنوی راجه "اننگپال" را شکست داده از شهر قنوج بیرون راند ، اننگپال تصمیم گرفت که دهلی را پایتخت خود قرار دهد . پس قلعه‌ای ساخت که موسوم به "لال کوت" است . این قلعه با سنگ حجاری نا شده (Undressed stone) ساخت و در اطراف آن خندق‌عمیقی کند. بعد ازین تاریخ جانشینان راجهٔ مزبور یک قرن بلا انقطاع در آنجا پادشاهی کردند . بعد ازان بنا بر کتیبه‌ای راجه‌ای توانا موسوم به "وسالدیو" ازخانوادهٔ راجپوتان چوهان بوده که در اجمیر میزیست و دهلی را تسخیر نمود، این‌راجه جد رای پتورا (معروف به پرتوی راج) بود . پرتوی راج قلعه‌ای بزرگ بشکل مستطیل در پایتخت بنا کرد علاوه بر این قلعه اننگپال مشهور به "لال کوت" را هم در حدود قلعهٔ خود آورد که اکنون در وسط آن "قطب منار" بر پا است .

از آن بمفهوم وسیعتری پذیرفت یعنی بخطابه و داستانهای رزمی و ضرب‌المثلها که از عناصر اساسی آموزش و پرورش عرب شمَرده میشود اطلاق میشد(۱) .

خطابه‌های که در بالا ذکر شد اکثراً بنابر ضعف سیاسی احزاب و عدم حریت افراد نزد سلطان جابر اکثراً محصور باظهار جلال خلیفه و هیبت او بود .

علاوه بر خطبه‌هائی که در دربارهای سلطنتی داده میشد در انجمن‌ها و مدارس نیز در این عهد بازار خطابه گرم بود و بین دانشمندان مناظراتی بوقوع میپیوسته و آثار این مفهوم مقامه در مقامات حمیدی موجود است . برای تفصیل کامل آن بمقاماهای "۲، ۱۳ و ۱۸" رجوع شود . و چه بسا که دانشمندان درین خطابه‌ها و مناظره‌ها ازفصاحت لسان بلاغت قول و تفوق و قدرت اقتاع مراعات میکردند .

میگویند این فن در روزگار امویان ظهور کرد و در عهد عباسی انتشار یافت . علائم و آثار نثر فنی، نثری که بآن مقامه نوشته شده ، در مکاتیب و مراسلات که درین عهد از جانب امرا یا وزرا فرستاده میشد دیده میشود و غرض آنهم شاید برانگیختن عواطف، اصلاح اخلاق و ارشاد بسوی راه‌های زندگی بوده باشد(۲) .

مقامه در قرن سوم

در قرن سوم مقامه از آن پایه بلند افتاد و در آن عهد بگدائی گدائیگران که بااحتیاط تمام از آهنگ و الفاظ شیوا و نرم ترتیب شده بود اطلاق میشد، کلمه که از خصوصیات ادبا و روزی حق امتیاز درباریان شمرده میشد بالآخره بدست بینوایان شهر و سؤالگران افتاد، شمهٔ ازین گدائیگریها را جاحظ در مقامات خویش در کتاب مقاسم و مساوی حفظ نموده. مقامه این مفهوم راه را برای نگارشهای بعد باز کرد چنانچه در آثار "همدانی" که در سطرهای بعد مفصل خواهیم‌دید اثر آن جا بجا باقی مانده . شاید بکلی ازین موضوع دور نباشد اینکه در اکثر مقامه‌های تازی و پارسی میبینیم که عملیات عجیب و غریب و حیرت آور بر بمرد درویشی نسبت داده میشود . گهی اینمرد در سخنوری استاد و زمانی در زهد و عبادت جای بلندی دارد

(باقی دارد)

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۱ دایرة المعارف اسلامی هان بحث مقامه .
۲ المجمل ص، ۱۱۸.

در طول زمان با اصطلاح امروزی بسیار متفاوت نیست. اعراب رسم داشتند که در جمیعت‌های خویش گفتار شیوا و سخنان بلیغ میآورند و گهی میشد که خطیب یا سخن وری برمیخواست، مخصوصاً در مراسم عروسی و عقد نکاح، خود خوانواده یا قبیله و قومش را میستود یا از اوصاف عروس و خویهای ستوده داماد یاد میکرد. دور نیست که این گفتارها با وصف بلیغ و شیوا بودنش گهی هم مقفی و مسجع بوده باشد.

این معنی حتی در آنروزهای پیشین نیز باعراب محصور نماند و جمعیتهای عجم نیز در مجامع و محافل خویش یا "گایه" "گاثه" که یکی از معنیهای آن مقام است میخواندند. همچنین در هند "بیدخانی" (ویده کتاب مذهبی هندوها) رسم بوده[۱].

پس میبینم که مقامه از دیرباز روزگار با تحولات آن در طول زمان چندان با معنی امروزی تفاوت نکرده منتهی آنکه در آنروزها در کشورهای غیر عربی مقامه مخصوص سرودهای دینی و مذهبی بوده و در کشورهای عربی بفخر و حماسه و مسایل ایلاتی و طبقاتی و شاید هم دینی و مذهبی محدود بوده و اینروزها نیز سرگذشت یا داستانیرا که غالباً از کاروائیهای حماسی و فخری همان پهلوان مقامه است که در کتابی گرد میآرند یا در مجمعی میخوانند و نام آنرا مقامه مینهند.

مقامه در عصر اموی و عباسی

در روز های سلطنت اموی و اوایل فرمانروائی عباسی جمعیتهای در دربار برپا میشد و در آن خطبه‌هائی از جانب مردان پارسا و خطیبهای زاهد ایراد میگردید چنانکه هشام بن عبدالملک زمامدار اموی با خالد بن صفوان[۲] اینرویه داشت. ابن عبد ربّه در عقدالفرید و ابوبکر محمد بن ولید الطرطوشی در سراج‌الملوک گفته بالا را تائید کند[۳].

دایرة‌المعارف بحواله مروج الذهب مسعودی و جاحظ مینگارد که این لفظ پس

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۱ رجوع شود به سبک شناسی آقای محمد تقی بهار (ملک‌الشعرا) پاورقی نمرهٔ ۲، جلد ۲، ص ۳۲۴.

۲ دایرة‌المعارف اسلامی این بحث را اغانی مقامه ابن قتیبة الزهاد عقدالخلفا و الملوک عیون‌الاخبار حواله میدهد.

۳ دایرة المعارف اسلامی بحث مقامه.

شنوندگان و خوانندگان میشود بی شبه درین نوع نگارش‌ها نیروی قلم و توانائی سخن نویسنده و گوینده بکار می‌افتد و هرچه در آراستن کلمات و مراعات زینتهای معنوی سخن اهتمام شود آنرا بانواع کلام منظوم و منثور آرایش دهند و با گوهرهای لطایف ادبی و محسنات بدیع مرصع سازد دلپذیر تر و خاطر نشین تر واقع میشود[۱].

. نویسنده دایرة المعارف اسلامی مقامه را منحصر بنثر تازی ساخته جائیکه میگوید: "مقامه قسمتی از نثر مصنوعی عربی است[۲] " نمیتوان گفت مقامه مخصوص عرب باشد چه آنکه میبینیم بنثر عربی این صنعت منحصر نماند و بپارسی و زبانهای دیگری هم نفوذ کرد و مقامه نویسانی چون قاضی حمیدالدین و دیگران بمیان آمدند که بر آثار خویش نام مقامات گذاشتند[۳].

و اینکه برای نخستین بار مقامه در نثر تازی ظاهر شده شبه نیست چنانکه در سطرهای بعد این بحث خواهیم دید .

فرقی که مقامه با داستانهای دیگر دارد اینست که مقامه در داستانها از زبان یکی بیان میشود و عمل داستان بمردی منسوب است یعنی مقامه یک راوی دارد و یک پهلوان . در مقامات بعضاً بر راوی نام مشخص میگذارند و از پهلوان مقامه نیز بر نام یاد میکنند ولی زمانی هم از هیچ یک نام نبرده آنرا بشخص مجهولی نسبت کنند خواه آن داستانها از سرگذشتهای مقامه نویس باشد یا از دیدنی‌های او یا شنیده‌هایش چنانکه در مقامات حمیدی داستانها بمرد مجهولی "رفیق شفیق" نسبت شده و پهلوان هم اوست .

تاریخچه مقامه

مقامه در جاهلیت و صدر اسلام : مقامه در جاهلیت با نُدی مرادف و بجماعت اقوام اطلاق میشد[۴]. طوریکه میبینم این اصطلاح مقامه با سیر تطور آن

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۱ سبک شناسی آقای محمد تقی بهار (ملک‌الشعرا) ج ۲، ص ۳۲۵ و آئین نگارش حسن سمیعی ادیب الممالک . ۲ دایرة المعارف اسلامی جلد ۳ .

۳ رجوع شود بدایرة المعارف اسلامی جلد ۳ تحت مقامه .

۴ رجوع شود بدایرة المعارف اسلامی، ج ۳ .

بحث مقامات

مقامه در لغت : گویند المقامة المجلس او الجماعة من الناس او الخطبة او العظة او الروایة التی تلقی فی مجتمع الناس . جمع مقامات و مقامات زهاد در مجلس ملوک معروف است[۱].

ملک‌الشعرا بهار معتقد است که مقامه باحتمال قوی بهیچ یک از معانی فوق متعلق نیست و باید آنرا ترجمه "گاثه" یا "گاس" یا "گاه" شمرد[۲] . ولی مشکل است با استاد بهار موافق شد . درست است که در پارسی باستان اوستا و سنسکریت ریشه 'Gatha' یا 'Gathu' بمعنی سرود موجود بوده و حتی اینروزها در هندوستان سرودهای دینی و مذهبی را "Gita" مینامند. ولی انتقال آن کلمه از زبان آریائی بعربی کاریست مشکل . عربها میگویند: "الناس اشبه بزمانهم منهم بآبائهم" جائیکه خود زبان عربی معانی برای مقامات یا مقام داشته باشد چه لازم است معنی عربی شده آنرا بگیرند و آنرا معرب سازند . در موسیقی منزلها و وقفه‌های نیز هست که بنابر همین وقفه‌ها میشود که سرودهای که بمقام و آهنگ خوانده میشود مقام نامیده شود و جمع آن مقامات باشد. دلایل استاد بهار نیز برای پارسی ساختن مقامات آنقدرها مبین نیست. پس مقامه را ما عربی میدانیم و از "قام" و "مقوم" مشتق' بمعنی منزل' درجه و آهنگ موزیکی . درجات تکامل صوفی‌ها را نیز مقام و جمع آنرا مقامات میدانند .

مقامه در اصطلاح

مقامه در اصطلاح ادبا عبارت از داستانهائی است که بنثر فنی یا شعر منثور نگاشته شده باشد[۳]. یعنی آن داستانها را بعبارات زیبا و شیوا و متین و دلفریب گرد آورده' بنویسند یا آن نوشته را بر جمعی فرو خوانند یا اصلاً نوشته در بین نباشد و بدون آن بجماعت القا شود . این داستانها سرگذشت‌های عبرت آمیز حیرت انگیزیست که بعبارات دلپذیر و مطایبت آمیز نگاشته شده باعث نشاط خاطر و سرگرمی

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۱ سبک شناسی آقای محمد تقی بهار (ملک‌الشعرا) جلد ۲' ص ۳۲۴ .

۲ برای احتوا به این تفصیل رجوع شود بپاورقی نمرهٔ ۱ سبک شناسی آقای محمد تقی بهار (ملک‌الشعرا) جلد ۲' ص ۳۲۴ .

۳ المجمل فی التاریخ الادب العربی' ص ۱۴۱ .

"چون بیان شیخ سنی از مدّ و ایجاز بحدّ اعجاز رسید از چپ و راست تحسین مجتمعان و خروش مستمعان و نالهٔ سوختگان مودّت و آه مشتاقان محبت برآمد که جَآءَالحقّ وَ زَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ(۱)".

میبینم که قاضی حمیدالدین چنانکه روش اوست از زبان دیگری مذهب سنت و جماعت را حق میداند و بنا برآن خیلی بجاست که پیرو آن باشد. و نیز مذهب معمول باشندگان بلخ آن عهد همین بوده . قاضی در وصف شهر بلخ و مردمان آن گوید :

"همه آراسته بزیور سنّت و جماعت و متحلّی بحلیهٔ براعت و بلاغت حنفیان یکرنگ و مقتدیان یکسنگ بوی بدعت را بمشام ایشان ممرّ نه و خیال خیانت را در سینهٔ ایشان مقرّ نه(۲).

وفات و رحلت قاضی

در تایخ وفات قاضی سخنی نیست همه جا سال ۵۵۹ هجری یعنی هفت سال بعد از رحلت سنجر بن ملکشاه سلطان هم عهد و معاصرش نگاشته شده' روز و ماه وفات مشکل است بدست آید' علی اصغر شمیم همدانی ناشر مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران میگوید :-

"تاریخی را که در وفات قاضی میرزا محمد خان قزوینی در حواشی لباب الالباب جلد اول داده از کتاب الکامل فی‌التأریخ ابن‌الأثیر اقتباس نموده" راجع باین که قاضی بچه علت یا مرضی درگذشته نمیتوانیم اظهار نظر کنیم .

مرقد و مزار قاضی

در هیچ یک از مراجعی که در دسترس ما بود از مرقد و مزار قاضی سخنی بمیان نرفته و باتفحص کامل بآثار گذشتگان و معاصرین دریافت آرامگاه آن نویسنده توانا میسر نشد' دور نیست که قاضی در اواخر عمر خویش چنانکه در بلخ سکونت داشت درگذشته باشد . و در حظیره مردمان آن عهد بلخ که اکنون مجهول است بخاک سپرده شده باشد .

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص۱۱۸ .
۲ ایضاً ص۱۷۴ .

در لباب الالباب ضمن سخنوران وگویندگان بلخ از شاعری نام میبرد که لقب نام پدر و نام فامیلی او با لقب، نام و نام فامیلی قاضی ما مطابقت میکند، اینمرد بنابر این قرینه فرزند قاضی است، نام و نشان او را لباب الالباب چنین ضبط نموده :

"القاضی الامام حمیدالدین افتخار الافاضل علی بن عمر المحمودی رحمة الله"(۱) فرزند قاضی بنا بگفته عوفی در عهد دولت سلطان قطب‌الدین ایبک میزیسته و با سعدالدین مجدالاسلام مسعود رئیس رابطه علمی و ادبی داشته و اشعار زیر را در پاسخ او سروده :

تا چند بارم ای ز لبت گشته زار لعل
آب از دو دیده در غم آن آبدار لعل
نی نی چو یافت با لب و دندانت نسبتی
ناقص شدست لؤلؤ وگشتست نوار لعل
جانا لب و دهان تو چون لعل و خاتم است
آید ز بهر خاتم بیشک بکار لعل
وعده وفا رسان که شد از بهر وصل تو
لؤلؤ آب چشم من از انتظار لعل
مسعود آنکه کلکش ریزد گهر چنانک
میریختی بهنجار از ذوالفقار لعل(۲)

نویسنده نزهة‌الخواطر در نخستین جزو اثرش عین همین گفته، از لباب الالباب اقتباس و گوینده را از گویندگان دربار قطب‌الدین ایبک پنداشته .

مذهب قاضی حمیدالدین

قاضی حمیدالدین از اهل سنت و جماعت بوده و مخصوصاً از امام ابو حنیفه تقلید میکرده، این‌مطلب از مقامهٔ که مخصوص مناظره بین سنی و ملحد است ظاهر میشود . در پایان این مقامه گوید :

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۱ لباب الالباب چاپ لیدن، ج ۱، ص ۲۰۳ .

۲ ایضاً ۲۰۳-۲۰۵ .

الله را عدم دانست نسبت بهر چیزی عشق و محبت میورزد و مسلک و مذهب او صلح کل و محبت بهمه موجودات میشود، قاضی میفرماید :

در عالم دل دوست تو و دشمن تو والی شده بر سینه و جان و تن تو
اندر مکش از هوای من دامن تو من با تو ام ار چه نیستی با من تو[۱]

مراتب محبت قاضی را بنگریم :

در راه محبت قدمی بیتو نه ایم در صورت شادی و غمی بیتو نه ایم
حاشا که ز هجر تو دمی سرد کشیم چون در همه احوال دمی بیتو نه‌ایم[۲]

میگویند از خصوصیات تصوف قرن شش که تعصب مذهبی قرن گذشته و این قرن جنگ‌ها و نزاع ها و مجادله ها بین فرق مختلفه شیعی و سنی و اسمعیلی و اشعری و امثال آنها، و روشن شدن جنگ‌های صلیبی سبب شد که بین خواص و آل درایت و فکر تمایلات صلح طلبی پیدا شود، واضح است که بزرگان صوفیه که خالی از تعصب و خشکی و سخت گیری آل ظاهر بودند . بیشتر از سائرین مستعد برای ابراز این افکار و تمایلات بودند[۳]. قاضی ما نیز که یکی از عرفای این عصر است در تصوف یکدل و صلح دوست بوده بخیلی و منت را نمی پسندد آنجا که میگوید :

"پیر سر بر آورد و گفت : ای برادران رحمانی و دوستان ربانی هرکرا از کوی طریقت مشکلی است بپرسید و هرکرا در شارع حقیقت واقعه‌ایست بگوئید که در کوی تصوف ضنّت نیست و در عالم فقر منّت نه"[۴].

گرجوئی از ولایت انصاف دوست جوی ورگیری از محلّهٔ اخلاص یارگیر[۵]

اولاد و بازماندگان قاضی

اولاد و باز ماندگان قاضی نیز چون سائر خصوصیات زندگیش مجهول است، عوفی

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران، ص ۱۳۰ . ۲ ایضاً ۱۳۰ .
۳ رجوع شود به تاریخ تصوف در اسلام دکتر قاسم غنی، ص ۴۹۱ .
۴ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص ۹۸ . ۵ ایضاً ص ۷۱ .

(دنباله گفتار گذشته)

احوال قاضی حمیدالدین بلخی

بقلم فاضل محترم آقای میرحسین شاه، دانشکدهٔ ادبیات، کابل

طوری که در متن بالا دیدیم قاضی پس از حضور در انجمن های عرفانی با رموز آنها آشنا میشود صاحب دلی میجوید تا در طریقت مرید و پیرو او باشد. نام این پیر و مرشد صریحاً ذکر نشده، قاضی وقتی بصحبت اینمرد راه مییابد از مسایل غامضه و رموز اینطریقت ازو پرسش ها میکند و پاسخ میشنود، که برجوع بمقامه دوازده از مقامات قاضی حمیدالدین در صفحه ۹۳ چاپ تهران تفصیل آنرا میتوانیم آنجا سراغ کنیم.

معلوم نیست حقیقتاً آن پاسخ ها از مرشد قاضی بوده یا پس از شنیدن قاضی ما در آن دست برده و تصرفاتی موافق مشرب خویش در آن روا داشته. قسمتی از آن پرسش ها مختصراً بطور نمونه ذیلاً ذکر میشود:

۱ علت کبود پوشیدن.
۲ اباحت سماع.
۳ قال و حال و نقار و غبار.

برای دریافت پاسخ این پرسش ها بمقامه دوازدهم رجوع شود. از مقامه دوازده و برخی از مقامه های مقامات برمی‌آید که قاضی برموز و اصطلاحات عرفانی بخوبی مطلع بوده و در آن رشته دستی داشته که بمعتقدات عرفانی او ذیلاً اشاره میشود:

اعتقدات بوحدت الوجود از خصوصیات عرفا است این طایفه خداوند را در هرچه میجویند، قاضی گوید:

تا عشق تو در تن است از تن نالم — وز تو بهزار گونه شیون نالم
از تو نه بدوست نی بدشمن نالم — اکنون که تو من شدی من از من نالم[۱]

این عقیده بزرگترین عامل است که تصوف را بر اساس عشق و محبت ساخت. عشق و محبت یکی از بزرگترین و عالی‌ترین احوال عارف و از مهمترین مبانی و اصول تصوف است زیرا وقتی عارف خدا را حقیقت ساری در همه اشیاء شمرد ما سوی

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۱ مقامات حمیدی چاپ تهران ص۱۳۰.

اثر طبع دانشمند ارجمند جناب آقای
محمد کامگار پارسی رئیس خانهٔ فرهنگی ایران در کلکته

بیا و بنده نوازی کن و در آ ز درم

بروی خوب تو ای گل گر اوفتد نظرم — روا بود که ز طوبی و حور درگذرم
اگر نسیمی از آن زلف دلگشا آید — چو غنچه بر تنم از شوق پیرهن بدرم
بیاد آن لب یاقوت فام شکّر زا — چو ارغوان بگلستان دهر خونجگرم
گر التفات کنی بر من از دو نرگس مست — چنان شوم که نباشد ز خویشتن خبرم
هوای کوی تو دارم ولی هزار افسوس — که پای بسته و جان خسته و شکسته پرم
کنون که حجلهٔ گل بسته‌اند برلب جوی — چو سرو ناز قدمرنجه کن بچشم ترم
ز هجرت ای بت شیرین چنان بگریم زار — که سیل کوه کن آید ز پای تا بسرم
فراقت ای شه خوبان مرا کشد آخر — بیا و بنده نوازی کن و در آ ز درم
بزیر چتر من آیند خستگان طریق — که همچو سایهٔ بید است عافیت ثمرم
نروید از سر خاکم بغیر لاله از آنک — میان خون دل و آب دیده غوطه ورم
مپرس حال دل ای کامگار با تفصیل — که نکته‌ها بود اندر بیان مختصرم

رباعی:

حلقهٔ گم شده

این ماه نو است یا یکی حلقهٔ زر — افتاده ز دست آن بت سیمینبر
از روی زمین گم شده و میبینم — آویخته در گوش سپهر اخضر

نگین بینی

آن دلبر هندی و عروس چینی — گر ره ندهد که گل ز باغش چینی
دلهای من و ترا چرا بربایند — با حلقهٔ زرین و نگین بینی

وعدهٔ فردا

گفتی که نظر ز مهر بر ما فکنی — آتش بدل حسود رسوا فکنی
شد دیده بانتظارم ایدوست سپید — هر روز چرا وعده بفردا فکنی

———

اثر طبع بلند و قریحهٔ سرشار دانشمند جناب آقای
دکتر علی اصغر حکمت وزیر محترم سابق امور خارجه ایران

شب و روز

کرد ایزد تا بنای روز و شب
در نوا شد جان ز نای روز و شب
گه بیاد روی و گه در بند موی
ماند دل در تنگنای روز و شب
میروند این کاروان سال و ماه
من چه مانم در قفای روز و شب
مینوردد پهن دشت عمر را
ابلق گردون بپای روز و شب
قیصر از روم و نجاشی از حبش
بین دو تن مسکین گدای روز و شب
بر دل از بام دو رنگ این سرای
میرسد بانگ درای روز و شب
جان تبه شد در غم لیل و نهار
دل گرفت از ماجرای روز و شب
حکمت اندر بوستان مدحتت
بلبل دستانسرای روز و شب
بر تن تو رخت بخت و فرهی
بر تن عالم قبای روز و شب

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VOLUME XIII DECEMBER 1960 No. 4

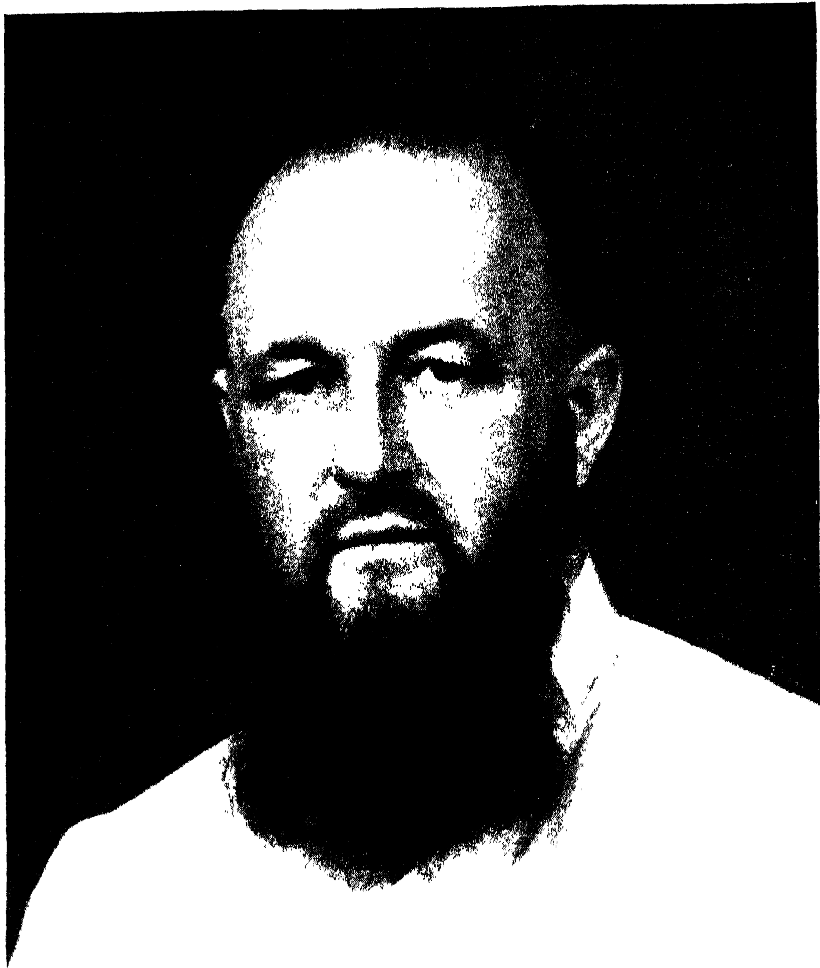
INDO-IRANICA

The Quarterly Organ of the Iran Society

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The late Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j.
President of the Iran Society
(1951-52 and 1952-53)

B. 18th Sept., 1907 *D. 21st Dec., 196*

FATHER V. COURTOIS AS I KNEW HIM

By Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt. (Teheran)

" Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear:
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

On the evening of 22nd December, 1948 in Calcutta after my displacement from West Pakistan, when I chose this great city to be the venue of my rehabilitation, I inflicted myself on Dr. Mohd. Ishaque about whom I had read enough through his standard classical two volumes on " *Modern Persian Poetry* " and stayed on with him till late in the evening to talk about literature and culture of Iran so as to forget all about my losses recently sustained on account of the partition of the country and luckily we were joined in our conversation by a Roman Catholic Christian Father, who was deeply interested in Islam in general and in Iran in particular. My conversation with the Father was brief, yet the amount of sympathy I received from him in that short span and the precision and exactitude with which he treated Islamic subjects, created an everlasting and indelible impression on my mind urging me to cultivate a reverential attachment for him, which gradually got deepened with the passage of time.

Indo-Iranica, the quarterly of the Iran Society, was being published with the munificence of Dr. B. C. Law and its nature and extent were quite different from its present form. Considering its publication a veritable burden on the magnanimous patron of the Society, it was thought proper either to stop its publication or to make it less frequent; but the establishment of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the subsequent grant given by the Council to the Society smoothened the task and the *Indo-Iranica* came out regularly expanding in its volume and scope requiring serious efforts from the Board of Editors for scrutiny and selection of articles and Father V. Courtois was one of those to whom this task was entrusted. He took upon himself to write '*The Persian Scene*' which gave a glimpse of contemporary Iran in her progress to prosperity economically and culturally as also review of certain books of outstanding merit having bearing on Iran and her culture.

It was probably in 1948 or 1949 that Dr. Mohd. Ishaque thought of celebrating the millenary of Al-Biruni, the famous scientist, litterateur

historian, mathematician, astronomer and geographer of Iran and it was decided to bring out a *Commemoration Volume* on the occasion. Again it was Father V. Courtois who was entrusted with the work of editing and compiling the book, which was to be published on the occasion of the millenary celebrations. The time was short and the task was great, the articles were to be invited and collected from orientalists of international repute, but Father V. Courtois' pursuance and perseverence brought the fruit and the volume was published within the stipulated time to synchronise with the celebrations. The *Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume* is considered to be the best tribute paid to the Iranian *savant* and the Iran Society earned a world-wide reputation by bringing out this book.

The millenary of Al-Biruni was celebrated in March, 1952, when a memorial meeting was held in the St. Xavier's Hall under the presidentship of the then Governor of West Bengal, late Dr. H. C. Mookerjee and the representatives of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Imperial Iranian Embassy from New Delhi attended the function and the late Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the great Indian historian, addressed the gathering. The project was the joint authorship of Dr. M. Ishaque and Fr. V. Courtois. Along with this meeting, an exhibition was also held where the works relating to Al-Biruni and some scientific instruments invented by him, were shown and the lectures on various aspects of Al-Biruni were delivered for quite a few days and the Calcutta dailies published special articles on Al-Biruni. Rev. Father V. Courtois wrote a brilliant article in "*The Statesman,*" organised the exhibition, brought out the *Commemoration Volume*, wrote a small pamphlet on "*Al-Biruni and the Pandits*" and delivered a remarkable speech which enlightened the audience about the literary, scientific and historical achievements of the philosopher-scientist-historian-poet of Iran. The success of the celebrations was partly due to the ceaseless efforts of Father V. Courtois.

The devotion to work, dogged pursuance, persistent efforts for the success of the celebrations and lectures and articles of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois manifested the huge amount of energy which he possessed. This naturally created some sort of jealousy in the minds of some people, who tried to malign him as an enemy of Iran, a friend of the British and a critic of Islam, but Fr. V. Courtois was steadfast as ever, without a murmur on his lips or a rancour in his heart, doing the task of the Society more vigorously than before. This was in 1952 and four years later again the Society took upon itself to celebrate the millenary of Avicenna, the physician-philosopher of Iran and again the entire task of editing and compilation of the *Avicenna Commemoration Volume* was



Dr. Mario Carelli, Former Cultural Attaché to the Italian Consulate, Calcutta, delivering his speech on 25th February, 1951, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., presiding.



Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., leading the late Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, the then Governor of West Bengal to the Presidential Chair, on the occasion of Al-Bīrūnī Millenary Celebrations held on the 23rd March, 1952.

entrusted to Fr. V. Courtois and he accepted the same without a grudge. This celebration was held in 1956 under the presidentship of the then Governor, late Dr. H. C. Mookerjee in the Marble Hall of the Government House. Again Father V. Courtois was as fresh as ever and as vigorous in his task as he was at the time of the celebration of the millenary of Al-Biruni four years earlier. These two celebrations put the Iran Society prominently on the cultural map of India and both the Indian Government and the Imperial Government of Iran appreciated the Society's efforts and in recognition of the same, sanctioned substantial grants for the Society. Part of the credit for all this goes to Fr. V. Courtois, whose initiative in the matter was responsible for this appreciation by the two governments.

On the occasion of the 700th death anniversary of the great Persian mystic poet, Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, Father V. Courtois wrote to me a personal letter in July, 1953 asking me to read a paper on a comparative study of the philosophy of Rumi and Shankar and in compliance with his wishes, I read the same on August 23, 1953, which when published in the *Indo-Iranica*, evinced appreciation from Indian, Iranian and foreign journals and Father V. Courtois, as and when he read any appreciation of the article in any Indian or foreign journal, would compliment me on my venture ; but I knew that these compliments were not due to me but to him, who was the source of inspiration for this undertaking. His encouragement gave a fillip to me in my efforts to probe into the secrets of Persian mysticism and in the furtherance of my interest in Persian culture and literature. He was my friend, philosopher and guide in my love for Iran which resulted in my visit to the land of my dreams wherefrom I came back last year after having witnessed there that encomiums were being paid even from the highest cultural and educational authorities to the Iran Society and its office-bearers of whom Dr. Mohd. Ishaque and Fr. V. Courtois were specially mentioned for promoting good-will and cultural relations between India and Iran. I felt proud over this great achievement of the Society and its constituents and today I bow with all reverence to the blessed memory of Fr. V. Courtois, who was instrumental in all these noble ventures.

Rev. Father V. Courtois, born in Belgium in 1907, entering the Society of Jesus in 1926, coming to India in 1930 and going to Beirut for his studies in 1934, returned to India—the country of his adoption and was ordained as a priest in Kurseong on November 21, 1939. He accepted the Indian citizenship after India achieved independence. He was attached to the Oriental Institute affiliated with the St. Xavier's and was bringing out a quarterly journal known as *'Notes on Islam'*, a bulletin of information about Islam with special reference to India and

Pakistan, to help better appraisement of Islamic Culture, which gave news-items about Islamic countries and reviewed books on Islam. Death came to him all of a sudden on Wednesday, the 21st December, 1960 due to heart failure and he died in harness without suffering even the slightest disease leaving his friends and admirers to mourn his loss.

The *Indo-Iranica*, after coming under the patronage of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and being published regularly every quarter, was in greater demand by Indian and foreign libraries, societies and litterateurs, required more of attention and supervision by the Editorial Board. In March, 1960, to guarantee a judicious selection and correction of articles, Father V. Courtois was appointed the Editor-in-Chief of the *Indo-Iranica* and he conscientiously took it upon himself to see the whole thing through.

A Christian priest as Father V. Courtois was, he had the spirit of Christ within him. He took pleasure in serving others and suffering for others and now it can be revealed that he made the careers of so many poor students and families, who earned his sympathies and for whom he gave away every farthing he possessed. Being ever-obliging and over-obliging, he was occasionally misunderstood by some, who thought that in his missionary zeal, he was acting in a way prejudicial to Islam; but consequently, it came to dawn upon them that he was right and they were wrong. It can be safely asserted that while conducting the business of the Iran Society, whether as the President of the Society or a chairman of a committee or a sub-committee under the Iran Society, he cared exclusively for the interests of the Society and no other considerations howsoever great and important they might be, would weigh with him. He was always frank and fair and would give his independent opinion whenever sought for, without any reservation. Peace and tranquility were to be seen on his external demeanour reflecting the peace of mind he possessed within. He was great in the sense that he helped others to become great and like a true guide, he would point out the right direction to the path-finder and himself retire into oblivion.

Western orientalists are accused of studying Islam for bringing into relief the shortcomings of it, if there be any; but Fr. V. Courtois' interests were for a sympathetic study of this great religion; and he manifested this sincerity in his talks and writings. Whenever there was an occasion, he showed unusual (because it could not be expected from the class he belonged to) reverence for Islam and the Prophet of Islam and his editorial notes in his quarterly, '*Notes on Islam*' can safely bear witness to this assertion wherein his criticism was always constructive, his suggestions solid and practicable, and his analysis precise, unbiased and sincere.



Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., delivering his lecture on Al-Bírúní
(23-3-1952)



Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., garlanding the Governor at the Al-Bírúní Millenary Celebrations (23-3-1952)



Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., showing an old astrolabe to the Governor of West Bengal (23-3-1952)

He took it upon himself to better the lot of the Iran Society and the *Indo-Iranica* and to promote the Indo-Iranian cultural relations. He was in correspondence with all the important libraries and societies in India and abroad to exchange their cultural organs with that of the Iran Society and he wrote to the publishers to send their publications for review in the pages of the *Indo-Iranica,* so as to acquaint the members about the latest publications in the field and to enrich the library of the Society by their addition to it. He undertook to regularise the library of the Society and for that purpose, he purchased for it many valuable volumes without which any library professing to have any interest in Iran, would be definitely incomplete and he also managed to get those books with maximum reduction in prices from booksellers.

Last year the Imperial Government of Iran through its Ministry of Education, awarded a Medal to Father V. Courtois for his special efforts in promoting Indo-Iranian Cultural Relations. Simple as a child, unassuming to a fault, he attributed this honour to the Iran Society, and never for once took pride in his achievements nor in the qualities of his head and heart. Voluntarily he offered to retire from the Council of the Iran Society only a few days ago, when informally the question was being discussed for the formation of the next Council. His plea was that he was so much attached to the Society now that irrespective of the fact whether he was there on the Council or not, he would continue to serve it with all his heart and soul and why should he not vacate his place in the forthcoming Council for some newcomer or one who may be initiated to serve sincerely for the Society. This renunciation on his part was quite sincere. Though the Council did not accept his own request, the Providence made the Council to accept the same compulsorily by the death of this Saint. His heart was pure and he foreboded about the ensuing catastrophe. His connections with the Society for nearly sixteen years have given him an honourable place in the history of the Society and the void created by his death is difficult to be filled in. No one can possibly replace Father V. Courtois in the Iran Society as the Society's representative in the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi or in the Abdul Halim Travelling Fellowship Committee of the University of Calcutta or elsewhere, is an established fact when judged in the context of the services rendered by him to the Society.

He shunned publicity and would always avoid coming into the limelight. Saintly by nature, he would ascribe all worldly honours to the sacred cause that he was pursuing with sincere fervour and transparent enthusiasm. His heart was in the work entrusted to him and he preferred to remain incognito so that all honour and recognition

should go to the organisation he was working for and not to his person, which he had already dedicated to the service of humanity, when he chose for himself to join the Society of Jesus, where a 'crown of thorns' was the highest honour conferred upon the 'Prince of Peace.' He took up the Cross and followed into the foot-steps of his Master, who inspired him to 'serve humanity with love and sacrifice.' In his quest of 'The Way,' he breathed his last just four days before the advent of Christmas so that he might give an account of his deeds to his 'Master in Heaven.'

May his soul rest in peace and may his glorious example be emulated by the youngmen of this country who aspire to bring India and Iran closer to each other culturally, is the ardent prayer of the members and well-wishers of the Iran Society and of friends and admirers of Rev. Father V. Courtois, whom they would ill-afford to call *'the late-lamented.'* May courage and fortitude be vouched unto his friends and those who benefitted from him to whom his loss is irreparable. AMEN !



Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan unveiling the portrait of Dr. B. C. Law, on 19th December, 1954, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., participating.



Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., presents a copy of the Avicenna Commemoration Volume to Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, the then Governor of West Bengal on the occasion of the Avicenna Millenary Celebrations held in the Marble Hall, Raj Bhavan, Calcutta on the 18th March, 1956.

MAULANA KAMALU'D-DIN AHLI TURSHIZI
OR
AHLI KHURASANI

By M. Shamoon Israeli, M.A., Ph.D.,
Muslim University, Aligarh.

In the domain of Persian Literature, whenever we speak of Ahlí, one is at-once driven to the conslusion that it is none else but "Ahlí of Shíráz who excelled in all kinds of poetical composition, and is especially famous for the ingenious artifices of verification, in which he emulated and surpassed Salmán and Kátibí."[1] Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í mentions him in his *Majálisu'n-Nafái's* (written A.H. 896), as a scholar and accomplished poet who had twice sent him verses from Shíráz, and had just composed a skilfully rhymed Qaṣídah in imitation of Salmán. It is because of the preponderating influence and tremendous fame of Ahlí Shírází that almost all the cataloguers of repute and biographers of note have warned that Ahlí Shírází is not to be confounded with his namesakes, who were incidentally his contemporaries as well. Charles Rieu while mentioning the poetical works of Ahlí Shírází says "That this poet (Ahlí Shírází) is not to be confounded with his contemporary namesake, Ahlí Khurásání, a native of Turshíz who lived in Herát and died A.H. 934."[2] Maulavi Muqtadir, the compiler of the Bankipore Catalogue has also forewarned that "there is a great danger of the poet's (Ahlí Shírází) being confounded with his contemporary namesakes, Ahlí Túrání, a pupil of Jámí who died in A.H. 902=A.D. 1496; Ahlí Khurásání, who died in A.H. 934=A.D. 1527 and Ahlí of Írán who flourished during the time of Sháh Ṭahmásp."[3] Again, the compiler of the India Office Library Catalogue, namely, Mr. Ethé says that "Ahlí Shírází must not be confounded with "Ahlí Túrání, a pupil of Jámí, who died A.H. 902=A.D. 1496–97 or Ahlí of Irán, who flourished under Ṭahmásp."[4] Mr. A. Sprenger, the Oudh Cataloguer, while dealing with *Díwán-i-Ahlí Khurásání* says that "Ahlí Khurásání must not be confounded with Ahlí Túrání, a Chaghatá'í noble man of a profligate character, who lived at the court of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá and died in 901 or 902."[5] This we shall see that the four Ahlís, who lived practically at the end of

[1] Catalogue of the British Museum. Charles Rieu Vol. II. p. 657a.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Bankipore Catalogue M. Muqtadir, Vol. II p. 128.
[4] India Office Library Catalogue, Mr. Ethé p. 785.
[5] Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 319-20.

the 9th. century A.H., or in the first fifty years of the 10th. century A.H., are as follows:

1. Ahlí Túrání, a pupil of Jámí who died in A.H. 902/1496, 1497 A.D.
2. Ahlí Khurásání, a native of Turshíz who lived in Herát and died in Tabríz in 934 A.H./1527, 1528 A.D.
3. The celebrated Ahlí Shírází, a friend of the well-known philosopher, Dawwání, who died in 942 A.H./1536 A.D., and was buried in Muṣalla by the side of Ḥáfiẓ-i-Shírází.
4. Ahlí Írání who lived during the reign of Sháh Ṭahmásp (930/1524—984/1576).

Among these four Ahlís the most notable is, of course, Ahlí Shírází whom Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í mentions in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* 'as a scholar and accomplished poet as we have already seen. Little is, however, known about Ahlí Túrání and Ahlí Írání and their works. The only other notable poet who deserves to be reckoned amongst the " masters of the Poetic Art " is Ahlí Khurásání, whom we shall consider hereafter.

Ahlí Khurásání, also known as Ahlí Turshízí, was born at Turshíz in Khurásán. Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, the celebrated prime minister, in his notable work, *Majálisu'n-Nafa'is,* mentions Ahlí on two occasions and each time he calls him " Mauláná Ahlí."[1] Prince Sám Mírzá describes the poet as follows:

" اهلی خراسانی از اهله و اهالی ترشیز است "[2].

Ahlí Khurásání was among the inhabitants of Turshíz.

The author of the *Riyáẓu'sh-Shu'ará* calls him " Mauláná Ahlí Khurásání,"[3] while Náẓím-i-Tabrízí, the compiler of *Naẓm-i-Guzídah* calls him " Ahlí Turshízí."[4] The compiler of the Oudh Catalogue, Mr. A. Sprenger, however, says that " Ahlí Khurásání was of Turshíz and his name was Sharm."[5] No biographer, however, gives the actual name of Ahlí. The only place where the full name of Ahlí has been mentioned, is the MS. preserved in the Subḥánu'l-láh Collection of the Aligarh University Library. The colophon of the afore-mentioned MS. reads as under:—

" باتمام رسید دیوان افصح الشعراء کمال الدین مولانا اهلی "[6].

The Díwán of the most eloquent among poets. Kamálu'd-Dín Mauláná Ahlí, has come to an end.

1 Majálisún-Nafá'is, Edited by Dr. A. A. Hekmat p. 80 and 251.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sámí Prince Sám Mírzá, Teheran Edition, p. 107.
3 Riyáẓu'sh-Shu'ará (Aligarh MS.) p. 33a.
4 Naẓm-i-Guzídah (Aligarh MS.), p. 6a.
5 Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 319.
6 Subḥánu'l-láh 891-5511|73.

It is, therefore, obvious that our poet, Kamálu'd-Dín Mauláná Ahlí, popularly known as Ahlí Khurásání, was born at Turshíz, but no historical or biographical evidence is available regarding the actual or even probable date of the birth of the poet. As regards the native place of Ahlí, namely Turshíz, I might add that "in the north-west corner of Kúhistán is the district of Busht of which the chief towns were Turshíz and Kandar. Ibn-Ḥawqal speaks of Turshíz as a very populous city, with fertile lands. Muqaddasí describes the mosque of Turshíz as in his days rivalling that of Damascus; there was also a famous water-tank and the markets were renowned, so that Turshíz was considered the 'store-house' of Khurásán, where merchandise was exported and imported to and from Fárs and Iṣfahán. According to Ibnu'l-Athír in A.H. 520 (A.D. 1126) the wazír of Sulṭán Sanjar, the Saljúq, besieged and plundered Turshíz which had lately come into the possession of the Ismá'ílís. After the destruction of the power of the Assassins by Hulágú Khán in the middle of the 7th. (13th.) century, and the conquest of the seventy castles in the Kúhistán Province, Turshíz quickly regained its importance and less than a century later, it is described by Mustawfí as one of the chief cities of Kúhistán, though still partly in decay. (Mustawfí) praises the abundant crops of Turshíz which he says were exported to all the northern districts round Níshápúr. At the close of the 8th. (14th.) century, Turshíz was deemed impregnable from its high walls, but when Tímúr appeared before it, he soon undermined these and after the sack nothing but ruins remained standing. This was in 783 (1381) and since that time Turshíz has disappeared from the map. The district of Turshíz exists at the present day, but no town of that name."[1] Since our poet was born after A.H. 783=A.D. 1381, hence Turshíz had lost all its impregnability and fertility when it gave birth to Ahlí Khurásání. He was, however, born in an extremely religious environment for "his father was a very religious man and was familiarly called Bálpaky Sádah."[2] No other details of the poet's career in his native town have come down to us.

Mauláná Kamálu'd-Dín Ahlí Khurásání, however, does not seem to have stayed long in Turshíz. According to Sprenger, "he came early to Herát and supported himself by writing for tanners and shoemakers. Through the interest of Khwájah 'Abdu'l Ḥaiy Zargar, he was appointed Náẓir of the mint. Being anxious to see the royal prince, Farídún Ḥusain Mírzá, for whom he entertained a great admiration, he asked for admittance into a garden in which he was

[1] The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Le, Stranger, p. 354 and 355.

[2] Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 319.

sitting, but Sultán-Bakht, a black slave, refused it to him. He wrote some verses which contain an allusion to the name of the door-keeper on a piece of paper, covered it with wax and attached it to an apple which he passed through the water-course into the garden. The prince read the verses and granted him an audience."[1] Prince Sám Mírzá, in his well-known *Tuhfa-i-Sámí*, speaks of the poet's devotion to the prince in the following words:

"در خراسان از مهر روی فریدون حسین میرزا از پای در افتاده مجنون آسا موی
ژولیده بگذاشت و داد عاشقی بداد"[2].

He was overwhelmed with his love for the face of Farídún Husain Mírzá, in Khurásán; grew dishevelled hairs like an insane person and did justice to love-making.

"After the fall of the house of Mírzá Sultán Husain (d. in A.H. 911) he (Ahlí) went first to Mashhad where he composed Qasídahs in praise of the Imáms, then he came in great poverty to Káshán and was reduced to begging, and finally he proceeded to Tabríz where he supported himself by teaching archery."[3] Prince Sam Mírzá, however, says and his statement deserves to be accorded credence:

"بعد از انقراض دولت آن دودمان بتبریز آمد چون در کمان داری
صاحب قبضه بود جوانان آنجا اورا از دست یکدیگر میربودند و آخر از پیری و
شکستگی گوشه گرفته رخت زندگی بخانه جاودانی کشید"[4].

(He) came over to Tabríz after the break-up of the kingdom of that House; since he was an expert Archer, the youths of the place used to abduct him from the hands of one another. At last he went in solitude because of old-age and infirmity and finally transferred the chattels of life to the immortal home.

The above statement of Prince Sám Mírzá indicates that Ahlí Khurásání migrated to Tabríz, where he died, soon after the break-up of the house of Mírzá Sultán Husain (d. A.H. 911). Sprenger, however, makes an entirely different statement for he says that Ahlí Khurásání went over to Mashhad primarily, then to Káshán and finally to Tabríz. This statement is, however, partly borne out by the internal evidence of the verses of Ahlí Khurásání. Ahlí in his ghazaliyát says:

هوای ملک تبریز از خراسان داشتم اهلی ولی بردند از ره ماه رخساران کاشانم

[1] Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, pp. 319, 320.
[2] Tuhfa-i-Sámí, Prince Sám Mírzá, Teheran Edition, p. 108.
[3] Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 320.
[4] Tuhfa-i-Sámí, Teheran Edition, p. 108.

شهر کاشانست و هرسو ماه سیمای دگر جور کم کن ورنه عاشق میشوم جای دگر
چه سود از مهوشان چین و خوبان چگل اهلی که روز من سیه شد از سیه چشمان کاشانی

O, Ahlí I had a desire to move to Tabríz from Khurásán, but the moon-faced (beauties) of Káshán led me astray.

It is the city of Káshán and (you find) moon-like (beauties) in every direction; be less cruel (to me) or I shall fall in love with some-one else.

What benefit do I derive from moon-like (beauties) of China and Chigil, when my life has been blackened by the black-eyed (beloveds) of Káshán.

The above verses clearly bear out that Ahlí migrated to Káshán from Herát (Khurásán) and there-after he went to Tabríz, where he, of course, died according to the unanimous verdict of all biographers. The above verses further bear out that Ahlí did not lead a very happy life at Káshán and hence his migration to Tabríz seems quite natural.

During his stay in Herát, Ahlí Khurásání became one of the boon companions of Sulṭán Ḥusain and his distinguished prime-minister, Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, has mentioned Ahlí among those poets whom he knew personally. The story of Ahlí Khurásání's access to Sulṭán Ḥusain makes a very interesting reading. Prince Sám Mírzá in his well known '*Tuḥfa-i-Sámí* says:

" در خراسان از مهر روی فریدون حسین میرزا از پا در افتاده مجنون آسا موی ژولیده بگذاشت و داد عاشقی بداد و درین باب گوید:

موی ژولیده که برسر من ابتر دارم سایه دولت عشق است که بر سر دارم

آخر شاهزاده آن درویش وفا کیش را پیش خویش طلب داشته مرهم لطفی بر جگر ریشش مینهاد، سلطان روزی روی بباغ فرموده بخت نام غلام سیاهی را بدر باغ نشاند که کسی را در باغ نگذارد و مولانا بامید دیدار در باغ شتافته، موکل مذکور از دخول وی مانع آمد، لاجرم در بدیهه غزلی که این دو بیت از آنجاست گفته و کاغذ را درمیان موم نهاده بر سیبی تعبیه کرده و از ممر آب باندرون فرستاده است، بیت:

دو چشمم فرش آن منزل که سازی جلوه گاه آنجاه
بهر جا پا نهی خواهم که گردم خاک راه آنجا
چه خوش بزمیست رنگین مجلس جانان چسود اما
که نتوان شد سفید از شومی بخت سیاه آنجا

بعد از اطلاع آن میرزا اورا طلب داشته در لطف بررویش بگشاد "[1].

He was overwhelmed because of his love for the face of Farídún Husain Mírzá, in Khurásán; grew dishevelled hair like that of an insane person and did full justice to love-making and in this respect he says:

The dishevelled hair which I, the bobtailed, have grown on my head represent the shadow of the state of love;

At last the prince sent for the faithful Darwísh and placed the unguent of favour over his wounded heart; one day the king proceeded to a garden and ordered an Abyssinian slave, Bakht by name, to stand by at the gate of the garden and allow no person to enter into it. The Mauláná proceeded to the garden to have a glimpse (of the king) but the sentinel came in his way; thereupon he improvised a lyric poem whose two verses have been given here; placed the paper inside the wax, manoevred it over an apple and sent it forth inside (the garden) through a water-course:

May my two eyes serve as a carpet for the theatre where you display your beauty; I desire that I become dust at the place where you place your foot;

What a graceful scene, the colourful assembly of the sweet-heart depicts; but it is of no avail to me for my misfortune cannot give place to good fortune there;

On receipt of this information, Mírzá sent for him and opened the door of favours on him.

The author of the *Riyázu'sh-Shu'ará* has given almost an identical version regarding the appearance of Ahlí Khurásání in the presence of Sultán Husain. He has probably borrowed his statement from the pages of the *Tuhfa-i-Sámí*. The *Riyázu'sh-Shu'ará*, however, adds:

"مولانا اهلی خراسانی از شعرای مشهور و ندمای معروف سلطان حسین میرزاست"[2].

Mauláná Ahlí Khurásání is among the notable poets and boon companions of Sultán Husain Mírzá.

Mr. Sprenger has also repeated the above story of Ahlí Khúrásání's effort to secure access to Sultán Husain, when the latter was staying in the garden, guarded by the Abyssinian slave, Bakht. The Oudh Cataloguer has, however, elucidated that on his arrival in Herát Ahlí was not at-once introduced to the Sultán. Sprenger says "Ahlí came early to Herát and supported himself by writing for tanners and shoemakers. Through the interest of Khwájah 'Abdu'l Haiy Zargar, he

1 Tuhfa-i-Sámí, Prince Sám Mírzá, Teheran Edition, p. 108.
2 Riyázu'gh-Shu'ará (Aligarh MS.), F. 23a,

was appointed Náẓir of the mint."[1] Sprenger, thereafter, repeats the story quoted above and hence Ahlí's accessibility to the king is, of course, a subsequent event and may have taken place some time after Ahlí's arrival in Herát. Since the court of Sulṭán Ḥusain was one of the important centres of men of letters and many notable poets enjoyed the patronage of Sulṭán Ḥusain and his equally if not more celebrated prime-minister, Mír 'Alí Shír, the presence of Ahlí Khurásání in that galaxy of luminaries bespeaks all the more of the excellence of Ahlí Khurásání as a poet. Professor E. G. Browne speaks of the court of Sulṭán Ḥusain in the following words: "Much more important than the two princes last mentioned, from the literary if not from the political point of view, was Sulṭán Ḥusain b. Manṣúr b. Báyqará whose court at Herát was one of the most brilliant centres of letters, art and learning which ever existed in Persia."

"On the death of Abú Sa'íd, Sulṭán Ḥusain captured Herát and was crowned there on Ramadhán 10, A.H. 872 (April 3, 1468) terminated by his death at the age of seventy years on Monday 11, Dhil Ḥijja A.H. 911 (May 5, 1506). His talented minister, Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, who like his master, was not only a great patron of men of learning and letters, but himself a writer of distinction, both in prose and verse, especially in the Turkí language, died on the 12th of Jumáda II, 906 (Jan. 3, 1501) at the age of 62."

The city of Herát, during the reign of Sulṭán Abu'l Ghází Ḥusain (A.H. 878-912=A.D. 1473-1506) may be regarded as the culminating point of this brilliant period."[2]

Ahlí Khurásání was, no doubt, reckoned amongst the most important poets of this age, and hence Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, the patron of a whole circle of poets, writers and artists, and himself a poet of no mean order," mentions Ahlí Khurásání in his biographical work, the *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is,* in "Book III dealing with poets flourishing when the author wrote and with whom he was personally acquainted."

Ahlí Khurásání has written a large number of verses wherein he speaks of the reigning king and his access to the court *e.g.*

اگر در بزم وصلش ره نیابی غم مخور اهلی
گدا را نیست ره جای که باشد بادشاه آنجا

ازان سویش چو گرد افتان و خیزان میرود اهلی
که بوسد نعل اسپ خسرو چابکسوارانرا

[1] Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 319.

[2] Literary Hist. of Persia, Vol. III, E. G. Browne, pp. 390, 391 and 421.

رسید اهلی بیا بوس شه صاحبقران خود
قضا گر داشت سرگردان بکوی هجر یکچندش

O Ahlí, do not grieve if you do not find your way into the Assembly of his union, for a beggar does not find accommodation at a place where there is a king;

Ahlí goes from that direction falling and rising like dust, so that he might kiss the shoe of the horse of the king of skilful riders.

Ahlí (after-all) has arrived; come and have a kiss of your lucky king, although destiny has kept you wandering about the lane of separation for some-time.

Eulogising the king, Ahlí says:

فرخ آن شهری که باشد چونتو شاهی شهریار
خرم آن کشور که در وی همچو تو سلطان بود
شه صاحبقران ابن حسین آنخسرو دوران
که بر تخت فلک خورشید تابان هست مانندش
اگر شاهان دیگر جمله از خیل و سپاه نازند
تو آن شاهی که می نازند صد خیل و سپاه از تو
قضا روزی که می‌انداخت طرح سقف زنگاری
قدر بهر تو می‌افراخت چتر پادشاهی را

How auspicious is the city where a king like you is the sovereign; blessed is the kingdom where a monarch like you (rules);

The lucky king, Ibn-i-Husain the sovereign of the day, (only) the lustrous sun is like him on the throne of the firmament;

If the other kings are proud of their army and host, you are a king of whom hundreds of armies and hosts are proud;

When destiny was laying the foundation of this rust-coloured ceiling, the divine decree was hoisting the umbrella of kingship for you.

Ahlí sings of the patronage of the king when he says:

ز عالم گر ندارد حظ چو ارباب سخن اهلی
بحمدالله که دارد چون تو سلطانی سخندانی
خلاصی از ستم روزگار اهلی را
بغیر مرحمت شاه داد گستر نیست

No matter if Ahlí does not win recognition from the world; thanks to God that he has a patron of poets in the king;

It is the benevolence of the just king (alone) which can deliver Ahlí from the tyranny of the Time.

Ahlí does not seem to have stayed long in Herát after the death of Sulṭán Ḥusain in A.H. 911=A.D. 1506. Sprenger is of opinion that "after the fall of the house of Mírzá Sulṭán Ḥusain (died in 911) he went first to Mas͟hhad where he came in great poverty to Kás͟hán and was reduced to begging and finally he proceeded to Tabríz where he supported himself by teaching archery."[1] It is quite probable that Ahlí K͟hurásání might have primarily proceeded from Herát to Mas͟hhad for a brief sojourn on his way to Kás͟hán and the fact of his stay in Kás͟hán is amply borne out by the internal evidence of Ahlí's verses as we have already seen. Ahlí had grown quite old when he at last reached Tabríz, as is evident from the writings of the biographers as well as the internal evidence of the verses. The author of the *Tuḥfa-i-Sámí* says:

"و بعد از انقراض دولت آن دودمان بتبریز آمد......و آخر از پیری و شکستگی
گوشه گرفته رخت زندگی بخانهٔ جاودانی کشید" [2].

Again, Ahlí K͟hurásání speaking of his old age says:

چون کمان شد قامت اهلی بترس از آه او
باز نتوان داشت چون تیر از کمان آید برون
قامتم خم گشته همچون چنگ در هجران او
هر سری موئی ز درد دل بافغان آمده

The stature of Ahlí has become like a bow and hence be afraid of his sighs ; the arrow which leaves the bow cannot be detained ;

My stature is stooped like the harp because of (the pangs of) his separation, and every end of hair is wailing because of heart-ache.

As regards the miserable life and the plight of his old age, Ahlí says:

بجان آمد دلم از قید هستی کاشکی هرگز
نیفتادی گذر بر محنت آباد جهان مارا
برمن چنان فضای جهان تنگ شد که نیست
زین تنگنا امید نجات از لحد مارا
خواهم از عالم فانی سفر کرد اهلی
زانکه دل گیر درین گوشه ویرانه شدم

My heart is groaning because of this captivity of existence ; I wish I would have never crossed (the floor of) this grief-stricken world ;

[1] Oudh Catalogue A. Sprenger, p. 320.
[2] Tuḥfa-i-Sámí, Prince Sám Mírzá, Teheran Edition, p. 108.

The space of this world is too narrow for me and I hope not deliverance from it even by going into the grave ;

O Ahlí, I desire to undertake a journey from this mortal world for I feel greatly annoyed in this desolate world.

Again,

اهلی مطلب بوی وفا از چمن دهر کاغشته بخوناب جگر هست گیاهش

O Ahlí: do not seek the smell of fidelity from the flower-garden of the world, for its grass has been moistened with the blood of the liver.

Ahlí died at an advanced age at Tabríz in 934 A.H. and Khwájah Khalílu'lláh Zargar made the following chronogram on his death:

اهلی مرد نام نکویش بماند و بس.

Ahlí died leaving behind his good name and nothing else.

Ahlí was born in an extremely religious family and despite his poverty, his moral character was very high. The internal evidence of his verses also bears testimony to the loftiness of his character: He says:

گر شدم رند و خراباتی و بدنام چه باک شکر الله که نیم در پی آزار کسی

Although I have become a libertine, a haunter of post-houses, and a notorious fellow, but I have nothing to fear, for, thanks to God, I do not pursue the course of inflicting injury to any person.

Ahlí does not stoop before the worldly riches in-spite of great pecuniary stress:

چون مسیحا پای همت بر سر گردون نهم سر فرو ناید بمحنت خانه دنیا مرا

همچو اهلی نکشم منت دونان هرگز که بجان از ستم عالم دون آمده ام

I place the foot of my ambition over the celestial sphere like Jesus ; I do not bow down my head before this world of afflictions ;

Like Ahlí I do not incur the obligation of the low-minded, for I have been greatly tormented by this mean world.

Ahlí was deeply engrossed in the love of God and hence his inadvertence and utter disregard for earthly pleasures. He says:

اسیر عشق داند لذت وارستگی اهلی نباشد ذوق اینمعنی گرفتاران دنیا را

O Ahlí, it is the Captive of love alone who appreciates the delectation of deliverance ; the captive of the world knows not the enjoyment of it.

Again:

گر از یک شمع بودی سوز دل پروانه را چون من
نگشتی این همه سرگشته گرد شمع محفلها

If the moth would have derived its heart-ache from a single candle like me, it would not have bewildered about the candles of assemblies.

Ahlí Khurásání had shí'ite leanings and his patron, Mírzá Sulṭán Ḥusain also professed shí'ism ab-initio, as is borne out from the following statement quoted by Professor E. G. Browne: "Having spoken of Sulṭán Ḥusain's birth, death, family and personal appearance. Bábur mentions the predilection for the shí'ite doctrine which he showed at the beginning of his reign, but which was checked by Mír 'Alí Shír."[1] Since Ahlí Khurásání professed the shí'ite creed, hence it is all the more probable that "after the fall of the house of Mírzá Sulṭán Ḥusain (d. 911) he went first to Mashhad where he composed Qaṣídahs in praise of the Imáms,"[2] although no such Qaṣídah is found in any extant collection of the verses of Ahlí. The internal evidence of the verses of Ahlí irrefutably bears out the professed shí'ite views of Ahlí *e.g.*,

منم که ناد علی ورد صبحگاه منست — بهر بلا که ز دوران رسد پناه منست
مرا بسینه چراغیست مهر آل علی — که هر کجا بنهم روی شمع راه منست
جز آستان علی التجای اهلی نیست — گدای آن سر کو میر بادشاه منست

My morning incantation has (ever) been 'Call 'Alí for help'; he (alone) is my Asylum from all the adversities of Time ;

The love of the House of 'Alí is the lamp of my bosom ; it is the torch of my track where-so-ever I turn my face to.

The refuge of Ahlí is none other than the threshold of 'Alí and my sovereign (too) is the beggar of that quarter.

The last line further bears out that Ahlí's patron, Sulṭán Ḥusain, had shí'ite predilections.

As regards the *Díwán* of Ahlí Khurásání, no two biographers agree in regard to the number of the actual verses composed by Ahlí. The author of Naẓm-i-Guzídah says:

"دیوان غزلیات او زیاده بر هزار بیت بنظر فقیر نرسیده ظاهرا که همین گفته با شد" [3].

The Díwán of his lyrics, comprehending more than a thousand verses, has not been seen by me ; obviously this is the limit of his compositions.

[1] Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. III, E. G. Browne, p. 456.
[2] Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 319.
[3] Naẓm-i-Guzídah, Náẓim-i-Tabrízí (Alígarh MS.), fol. 16a.

A. Sprenger says:

"Taqí Káshí has seen a díwán of about 3,000 verses of him."

Among the extant Díwáns of Ahlí Khurásání, the following are note-worthy:

(1) A. Sprenger mentions the existence of a Díwán in the Oudh Library. He says "The Díwán of Ahlí Khurásání contains merely ghazals. Beginning:

دو چشمم فرش آنمنزل که سازی جلوه گاه آنجا
بهرجا پا نهی خواهم که باشم خاک راه آنجا

This Díwán covers 30 Ff., and each folio contains 30 lines It is a fair copy.

(2) There is another Díwán preserved in the Bodleian Library and the reference of the same is to be found in the Bodleian Library Catalogue, prepared by Mr. Ethé. This appears to be a selection from the Díwán of Ahlí Khurásání and is undated. Ff. 122a—151b, that is 30 Ff only. This selection contains some ghazals and rubá'ís and begins with the following verse:

دو چشمم فرش آن منزل که سازی جلوه گاه آنجا
بهر جاپا نهی خواهم که گردم خاک راه آنجا

The rich 'Aligarh collection contains four extremely fine and rare copies of Ahlí Khurásání. All the four copies practically agree among themselves, but differ completely from the Díwán of Ahlí Shírází, preserved in the 'Alígarh Collection of MSS., although the learned cataloguer of the 'Alígarh MSS. has treated all the four copies of Ahlí Shírází, as one and the same, inspite of the fact that the line quoted by Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í in his *Majálisu'n-Nafá'is* as ascribed to Ahlí Khurásání, appears in all the four Díwáns of Ahlí Khurásání preserved in the 'Alígarh Collection, and does not find its place in the local Díwán of Ahlí Shírází. The line is as follows:—

دوش افغان من از چشم ملایک خواب برد
خرمن مه را ز طوفان سرشکم آب برد [1]

1 Majálisu'n-Nafá'is. Edited by Dr. Hekmat, pp. 80 and 251.

The ghazals of Ahlí Shírází uniformly begin with the following couplet:

ای حیرت صفات تو بند زبان ما انگشت حیرتست زبان در دهان ما

Whereas the ghazals of the four Díwáns of Ahlí Khurásání begin either with:

گرچه میسوخت ز خوبان دل پر درد مرا آتش عشق توکرد از همه دل سرد مرا [1]

or with:

بر فلک هرشب رسانم برق آه خویش را تا بسوزم کوکب بخت سیاه خویش را [2]

or with:

دو چشمم فرش آن منزل که سازی جلوه گاه آنجا
بهر جا پا نهی خوا هم که گردم خاک راه آنجا [3] .

The following are the details of these four extremely rare copies of the Díwán of Ahlí Khurásání:

(1) *Shaftah* 161/137: Díwán-i-Ahlí Khurásání. Written by Kamálu'd-Dín Ahlí Khurásání who flourished in Herát and died in Tabríz in 934/1527.

Ff. 37; Size $10\frac{1}{2}\times6\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{2}\times4\frac{1}{4}$ Ll: 15 Modern Nasta'líq. The Díwán contains alphabetically arranged ghazals beginning as in the Bodleian MS. No. 1018, and the Oudh copy:

دو چشم فرش آن منزل که سازی جلوه گاه آنجا
بهر جا پا نهی خواهم که گردم خاک راه آنجا

The Díwán contains 128 ghazals and 11 rubá'ís at the end. The Colophon, however, reads: تمام شد دیوان اهلی شیرازی . which is, of course, a serious blunder.

(2) Lytton F. 1. 106: Díwán-i-Ahlí Khurásání. Copied by Nihál Khán in 1196 H/1781 for Rájá Jaswant Singh Parváneh. Ff. 56; Size $7\frac{1}{4}\times4$, $6\frac{1}{4}\times4$; Ll: 12, Nasta'líq written with gold and blue ruled borders. The ghazals begin with:

بر فلک هر شب رسانم برق آه خویش را تا بسوزم کوکب بخت سیاه خویش را

The Colophon reads: دیوان مولانا اهلی خراسانی باتمام رسید.

This Díwán contains 158 ghazals and 29 rubá'ís.

[1] Subḥánu'l-láh, 891-5511|73 (Aligarh MS.).
[2] Lytton F. I. 106 and Subḥánu'l-láh Supplement 891-5511|94.
[3] Shaiftah, 161|137.

(3) Subḥánu'l-láh Supplementary 891.5511/94: copied by Tafaẓẓu'l Ḥusain in 1248 Faṣlí.

Ff. 37; size 9½×6¼, 7×3; Ll: 21; Nasta'líq mixed with Shikastah. Worm-eaten and water-stained. The ghazals begin:

بر فلک هر شب رسانم برق آه خویش را　　تا بسوزم کوکب بخت سیاه خویش را

The Colophon reads: تمام شد کتاب دیوان شیرازی which is obviously wrong. This Díwán contains the largest no. of ghazals, that is 168 in all.

(4) Subḥánu'l-láh 891.5511/73: copied by Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Dúst Muḥammad.

Ff. 32; Size 7¼×4¼, 6×3; Ll: 17; Nasta'líq with illuminated head-piece. The ghazals begin:

گرچه میسوخت ز خوبان دل پر درد مرا　　آتش عشق تو کرد از همه دل سرد مرا

The Colophon reads: باتمام رسید دیوان کمال‌الدین مولانا اهلی

This Díwán contains 128 ghazals, while the number of Rubá'ís in this Díwán is the largest, namely 28 only.

Ahlí's verses, even in his very life-time enjoyed great popularity and were considered of high quality by the contemporary critics. Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, a notable poet and a celebrated man of letters speaks of Ahlí as follows:

" شخصی اهل بود و کسی بس خوش طبع مینمود و در شعر او چاشنی خوب بود [1] "

He was a capable person, a person of sweet disposition and there is profundity of sauce in his verses.

The almost contemporary author of *Tuḥfa-i-Sámí* says:

در شیرینی اشعار و حلاوت گفتار شکر ریز [2] .

He scattered sugar in respect of sweetness of verses and flavour of speech.

Riyáẓu'sh-Shu'ará comments on the verses of Ahlí and says:

"اگر در عالم سخنوری بمولانا اهلی شیرازی نمیرسد لیکن او نیز از استادانست" [3].

Although he does not attain the position of Mauláná Ahlí Shírází in the realm of eloquence, but he is all the same among the masters of the poetic art.

1 Majálisu'n-Nafáis, Teheran Edition, p. 251.
2 Tuḥfa-i-Sámí, Teheran Edition, p. 107.
3 Riyáẓu'sh-Shu'ará, (Aligarh MS.), F. 23a.

Názim-i-Tabrízí of the fame of Názm-i-Guzídah says:

" بعد از اهلی شیرازی بوده و طرز غزلش بطرز وی بسیار آشناست و این نهایت تعریف اوست "[1].

He lived after Ahlí Shírází and the mode of his writing lyrics resembles the latter very much, and this is the height of his commendation.

Sprenger says:

"His erotic poems are distinguished by their heart-felt fervency."[2]

As regards the popularity of his verses, Ahlí says:

اهلی قبول اهل نظر یافت شعر تو   با مدعی بگو نتوان کرد رد مرا

ز رشحهٔ قلمم سوخت عالمی اهلی   چه آتش است که در نظم آبدار منست

O Ahlí, your verses have won the approbation of the clear-sighted ; tell the pretender that he could not refute me ;

O Ahlí ! the entire world is ablaze because of the exudations of my pen ; What a fire is there in my lustrous verses.

Again:

بهر محفل که بگشایند چون گل دفتر اهلی
هم بوی حقیقت آید از عشق مجاز من

سرمه از خاک در اهلی برند اهل نظر
گر رسد بر آستانش گرد دامان کسی

هر شعر اهلی از گل رویت رساله‌ایست
چون گل برند دست بدست این رساله را

اهلی از گفتار خود نامی بر آرم در جهان
گر قبول طبع شاه نامدار من شود

In whichever assembly people uncover the book of the verses of Ahlí, the fragrance of realism emanates from my allegorical verses like the bunch of roses ;

If the dust of some-one's skirt were to settle down on his threshold, the clear-sighted would carry the dust of the door of Ahlí in order to apply it as collyrium ;

Every couplet of Ahlí is a treatise on your rose-like face ; people pass it on from one hand to the other like a bouquet of roses ;

1 Nazm-i-Guzídah, Názím-i-Tabrízí, F. 16a.
2 Oudh Catalogue, A. Sprenger, p. 319.

O Ahlí ! I shall acquire fame in this world through my compositions provided the notable sovereign were to affix the seal of his approbation over it.

A closer study of the afore-mentioned four rare Díwáns of the 'Alígarh Collection reveals that Ahlí Khrásání was capable of producing some very fine ghazals and is would have, of course, been a tremendous literary loss if the name of Ahlí Khurásání would not have found its proper place in the realm of Persian literature. The following specimens will, I am confident, corroborate my statement:

بقتل عاشقان ای کاش خوبان محضری سازند
که من صد جان بخون خویش بنویسم گواهی را

بسکه در عشق تو کار من برسوای کشید
دوست دشمن گشت با من آشنا بیگانه شد

سیه شد روزگارم بر امید آنکه یکروزی
نگاهی بر من بد روز ازان چشم سیاه افتد

مرا گویند مشکلهای عشق از صبر بکشاید
اگر بودی مرا صبری نگشتی کار من مشکل

I wish that the Beauties prepare an inventory of the killings of lovers, so that I may affix the seal of my testimony at a hundred places with my blood ;

My affairs in respect of your love have ended so disgracefully that the friend became a foe and the familiar a foreign ;

My life has been blackened in the expectation that one day that black-eyed beloved would cast a glance at an unfortunate person like me ;

People say that the hardships of love are neutralised by patience ; if I could but be patient, my affairs would not have come to such a pass.

The number of such fine verses can, however, be easily multiplied ; but the best way, of course, of judging the merits of Ahlí Khurásání as a distinguished poet, would be to study his Díwán in detail.

I may, therefore, conclude by adding that this sensational discovery of four copies in the 'Alígarh Collection, apart from the other two copies of the Bodleian and Oudh Collections of the Díwán of Ahlí Khurásání, though short but virtually complete and extremely fine and rare, will prove to be an invaluable contribution to human thought in the realm of Persian Literature and will, I am confident, pave the way for the greater enrichment of the Persian language and literature produced under the fostering care and patronage of the celebrated Mír 'Alí Shír Nawáí of Herát.

KHÁN-I-ÁRZÚ AND HIS WORKS*

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An exhaustive critical study of Khán-i-Árzú's wonderfully active life and monumental cyclopaedic works, in the complex historical context of the decadent Later Mughal Period, is absolutely impossible within the very limited scope of this lecture.

This literary prodigy, born in a luckless age, happened to be at once a great Persian-writing Indian polyglot, polyhistor, poet, poetician, philologist, lexicographer, commentator, critic etc., and commanded universal respect on account of his voluminous literary productions, which were looked upon as original contributions to various branches of learning.

His full name with title and nom de plume was Shaikh Siráju'd-Dín 'Alí Isti'dád Khán Árzú. He was born at Akbarábád in 1687 A.D. His father, Shaikh Ḥusámu'd-Dín, lived by soldiering, and during the reign of Aurangzíb had held a respectable rank. Khán-i-Árzú on his father's side was the lineal descendent of Shaikh Kamálu'd-Dín, a son of the sister of Shaikh Naṣíru'd-Dín Chirágh-i-Dehlí, while on his mother's side his pedigree went back to Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth Gawáliyárí, who traced his descent from Khwája Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár of Nishápúr.

Khán-i-Árzú started learning Persian and Arabic at an extremely tender age, and in the course of time became an erudite scholar. He also acquired proficiency in Hindi and Music. From his works it appears that he had a working knowledge of Sanskrit vocabulary, which enabled him to discover a close affinity between Sanskrit and Persian.

As regards the beginning of his career as a poet, he says that in his 14th year he developed a taste for poetry, and at Mathurá the land of love and lyric, he felt a strong poetical urge and started composing

* This lecture was delivered on the 11th April, 1960 under the auspices of Indian Council for Cultural Relations at Pataudi House, New Delhi.

verses. He commenced writing commentaries on certain Persian texts even before his studies had come to an end.

It was in 1719 A.D., at the time of Muḥammad Sháh's triumphal entry in the capital, that Khán-i-Árzú came to Dehlí to permanently settle there. With his settlement in Dehlí began his life of great literary activity extending over a period of not less than 37 years. Soon after his arrival in the Indian metropolis, he came in close contact with Ráy-i-Ráyán Anand Rám Mukhliṣ, who was the Vavíl of Prime Minister, Nawwáb Qamru'd-Dín Khán. Mukhliṣ, apart from helping Khán-i-Árzú in various ways, also secured for him a jágír along with a rank of 700 and a title.

In 1727 A.D., or thereabout Mu'tamanu'd-Daulah Nawwáb Isḥáq Khán Shústarí extended his patronage to Khán-i-Árzú, which ended with the death of this noble. During these 14 years Khán-i-Árzú, ,despite great political changes in the country, continued his literary work with singular devotion and astounding calmness of mind. He saw the sack of Dehlí, the massacre of the inhabitants, the exactions of Nádir Sháh and the humiliation of his friends and supporters, but notwithstanding these horrible scenes he remained as busy as ever.

By the time Khán-i-Árzú was 48 years old he had produced the following works:

1. *Siráju'l-Lughat*, a bulky lexicographical compilation based on long original research. It is a work of rare merit. It fascinated Tek Chand Bahár to such an extent that he incorporated it in his lexicon entitled the *Bahár-i-'Ajam*. It is an indispensible reference work for those who are interested in the study of ancient poets of Persia. The chief importance of it lies in the fact that it is full of comments on and criticism of the *Burhán-i-Qáṭi'* and the *Farhang-i-Rashídí* and also reveals a close affinity between Sanskrit and Persian.

2. *Chirágh-i-Hidáyat*, a lexicon containing such words and expressions as had been used by Persian poets coming after Jámí, and were not found in the *Farhang-i-Jahángírí*, the *Majma'u'l-furs-i-Surúrí* and the *Burhán-i-Qáṭi'*.

3. A bulky díwán containing Ghazals and Qaṣídas.

4. *Jawáb-i-Díwán-i-Athar-i-Shírází*, a díwán running parallel to that of Athar, which was very popular in India at that time.

5. *Shúr-i-'Ishq* or *Súz-u-Sáz*, a mathnawí in imitation of Zulálí's *Maḥmúd-u-Ayáz*.

6. *Khayábán*, a commentary on Sa'di's *Gulistán* determining the actual meanings of difficult words and expressions occurring in the text as well as a thorough criticism of the commentaries of great scholars like Mír Núru'lláh Aḥrárí, Mullá Sa'd etc.

7. *Shikúfa-zár*, a commentary on Niẓámí's *Sikandar Náma* with detailed criticism on earlier expositions of the text.

8. *Sharḥ-i-Qaṣá'id-i-'Urfí* in which most of the objections raised by Mullá Munír and other commentators have been refuted and the amounts of gold and dross in the text correctly appraised.

9. *Siráj-i-Munír*, a refutation of Mullá Munír's critical work entitled *Kárnáma* in which he had taken objection to certain verses of 'Urfí, Ṭálib, Zulálí and Ẓuhúrí.

10. *'Aṭiyyá-i-Kubrà*, a disertation on Stylistics claimed to be the first work on the subject.

11. *Mauhibat-i-'Uẓmà*, a treatise on Rhetoric and Literary Style also claimed to be a prototype.

12. *Siráj-i-Wahháj*, a discursive commentary on a verse of Ḥáfiẓ.

13. *Ádáb-i-'Ishq*, a brochure on love.

14. *Mi'yáru'l-Afkár*, a treatise on Grammar.

15. *Júsh-u- Khurúsh*, a mathnawí in imitation of Nau'í's *Súz-u-Gudáz*.

16. *Mehr-u-Máh*, a mathnawí in a metre not ordinarily used for composing a mathnawí.

17. An incomplete mathnawí in the metre of the famous *Ḥadíqa*.

18. *'Álám-i-Áb*, a *sáqí náma* in imitation of Ẓuhúrí's identical poem.

19. *Payám-i-Shauq*, a collection of letters.

20. *Gulzár-i-Khayál*, a description of the Spring season and the Holí festival.

21. *Ábrú-i-Sukhan*, a description of a tank, fountain and vine-yard

22. *Sharḥ-i-Mukhtaṣaru'l-Ma'ání*, and

23. *'Ibrat Fasána*, an incomplete mathnawí in imitation of Salím's *Qaḍá-u-Qadar*.

Notwithstanding his India-wide reputation as a master-poet and pre-eminent scholar, Khán-i-Árzú was always ready to learn or unlearn as the circumstances required. He cared little for the rude shock which his admirers were bound to receive in the event of his admitting his ignorance of the actual meaning or correct use of a certain word or expression. In fact, his literary honesty and scholarly fairmindedness precluded the idea of clinging to false prestige by having recourse to fallacious reasoning.

After Mu'tamanu'd-Daula's death his son, Najmu'd-Daula Mírzá Muḥammad, apart from the continuation of his deceased father's patronage of Khán-i-Árzú, conferred on him a monthly pension of Rs. 150. There is ample evidence in support of the fact that certain other nobles regularly made provisions for his economic support and thus enabled him to live in abundantly easy circumstances with nothing to worry about. He frequently arranged poetical symposiums at his house, which had come to be known as the meeting place of Indian and Persian scholars.

Khán-i-Árzú had numerous disciples who were scattered all over the sub-continent. Many of these like Mukhliṣ, Khúshgú, Maẓhar, Wáqif etc. etc., had compiled their díwáns long before the death of the master. Among those eminent Ríkhta poets whom Khúshgú, Maẓhar instructed and trained the names of Ábrú, Maḍmún, Yakrang, Mír, Saudá, Dard etc. are too well-known.

When ShaikhMuḥammad 'Alí Ḥazín, the leading Persian poet and scholar satirized India and Indians, Khán-i-Árzú rose to his full stature taking up arms against the foreigner. He collected numerous wrongly constructed verses of Ḥazín and criticised them at length in a work entitled *Tanbíhu'l-Ghháfilín*. The publication of this adverse criticism went a long way in damaging the literary reputation of Ḥazín, who at the time of his visit to this country was held in reverential awe.

Between 1734 and 1753 A.D. Khán-i-Árzú produced the following works:

(1) *Tanbíhu'l-Ghháfilín.*

(2) *Ghará'ibu'l-Lughát*, a dictionary of Hindi words explained in Persian.

(3) *Dád-i-Sukhan*, an analysis of Munír Láhaurí's qaṣída in which Munír had examined the objections raised by Mullá Shaidá against one of the qaṣídas of Qudsí.

(4) *Jawáb-i-Díwán-i-Salím*, and

(5) *Jawáb-i-Díwán-i-Fughání*.

In 1750 A.D. Najmu'd-Daula was killed in a battle. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Nawwáb Rashíd Khán Sálár Jang. This, the third and last distinguished member of the noble Shustarí family, made it a point to see that Khán-i-Árzú continued to live as care-free as before.

In 1751 Khán-i-Árzú completed his bulky tadhkira entitled *Majma'u'n-Nafá'is* containing 1735 alphabetically arranged biographical notices of Persian-writing poets with copious extracts from their poems. After the publication of the above mentioned tadhkira he produced the monumental *Muthmir*, a work on Persian Philology, Phonology, Grammar etc., on the lines of Imám Jalálu'd-Dín as-Suyúṭí's Arabic opus magnum entitled *Muzhir*. As the subject of this great thesis required extensive scientific researches in the language and literature of Persia coupled with a good knowledge of Sanskrit vocabulary, no Indian other than Khán-i-Árzú could have been able to execute the undertaking.

Another work entitled *Sharh-i-Gul-i-kushtí* also belongs to this period. It is a commentary on Mír Napát's famous but rather difficult mathnawí dealing with the art of wrestling.

At this time Khán-i-Árzú was holding a unique position. He had no rival in the realm of poetry or in the domain of erudition. In poetics and philology his word was law. The opinions expressed by some of his contemporaries are worth quoting:

" Árzú's pen rules the kingdom of literature and proclaims, as it moves on, that the authority of the master is unchallangeable." (Fatḥ 'Alí Gardizí).

" At present it is impossible to think of a greater poet and more accomplished scholar than he." (Qayámu'd-Dín Qá'im).

" As a poet and scholar he is now beating the drum of his supreme authority." (Ḥusain Dúst).

" Just as Moses, with the help of a serpent, had gained complete victory over the sorcerors, so Árzú by weilding a powerful pen has acquired the leadership of all the contemporary poets." (Ázád Bilgirámí).

In 1754 A.D., due to intrigues at the Court, Nawwáb Rashíd Khán Sálár Jang with all those attached to him set out for Lakhnaú. It was settled between Sálár Jang and Khán-i-Árzú that the latter would pass the remaining days of his life at Ajúddhiyá, the native place of his ancestor, Shaikh Kamálu'd-Dín

Apart from the works already mentioned Khán-i-Árzú had compiled his second general díwán much larger than the first one. Even in his old age at Ajúddhiyá he began *Jawáb-i-Díwán-i-Kamál-i-Khujandí* and a small work entitled *Zawá'idu'l-fawá'id* containing uncommon Persian masdars with their equally uncommon derivatives. These works, however, remained incomplete.

As Sálár Jang had secured for Khán-i-Árzú a handsome pension amounting to Rs. 300/- per mensum, the latter shifted to Lakhnau, which was attracting talented men from all the nooks and corners of India. He had not enjoyed the pension for more than a few months when all of a sudden he fell dangerously ill. Realising that his disease was fatal, he made a will to the effect that after he had left this world his dead body should be sent to Dehlí for burial. He died on the 26th January, 1756 A.D. at the age of 70. His dead body was sent to Dehlí to be burried in his own house in Vakilpúra, a suburb of the Capital near the Jamuná.

Now let me give a few specimens of his poetry and prose:—

اشعار از غزلیات

داغ تردد دل دیوانه‌ایم ما　　پروانهٔ چراغ پری خانه‌ایم ما
کیفیت شراب بکاریم همچو موج　　انشا طراز لغزش مستانه‌ایم ما

هرگه عرق ازان گل رخسار میچکد　　آئینهٔ فرنگ ز گلزار میچکد
آبی بروی کار من آورد گریه‌ام　　ابر بهار از در و دیوار میچکد

تصرفست بدل حسن شوخ و شنگ ترا　　ز کعبه باج ستانی بود فرنگ ترا
بود به ملک عدم سیر ششجهت امسال　　خطی دمیده به گرد دهان تنگ ترا

این ذرهٔ ناچیز ز صد دشت فزونست　　کونین توان گشت مگر دل نه توان شد
آوازهٔ من آرزو از فیض سکوتست　　بالید به آن رنگ خموشی که زبان شد

گرهی ز بند قبای خود بگشا بگشت چمن در آ
بهوا فشان سر زلف را چو صبا بدشت ختن در آ

اشعار از قصیدۀ نعتیه

باشد از عکس ریاحین عالم دیگر در آب
بیضۀ الوان نو روز است هر گوهر در آب
بسکه رنگ تازه گلهای بهاری ریختند
چتر طاؤس است گوئی برگ نیلوفر در آب
از چمن پیرائی ابر بهاری دور نیست
گر حباب و موج گردد سنبل و عبهر در آب

After describing the effect of Spring in kindred verses, he introduces a غزل of which I give here only the first and the last verse:—

مصرعـۀ بحر طویل موج از یادش رود
گوش ماهی بشنود این نو غزل را گر در آب
نیست با کم گر فتد از شعر تر دفتر در آب
تا قیامت شسته کی گردد خط ساغر در آب
دارم آرام آرزو از اشک طوفان جوش خود
از پر ماهیست بالینـم بزیر سـر در آب

Then, indulging in self-praise, he writes:—

ریخت طرح تازه فکر من ز شعر تر در آب
همچو نیلوفر گشادم یک چمن دفتر در آب
آبداری بسکـه از تیغ زبانـم میچکد
غرق شد از انفعال حرف من گوهر در آب
آفرین بر من که از رطب اللسانیهای خویش
ریختم رنگ بهشت از نعت پیغمبر در آب

اشعار از مثنوی

The hero of the story is a prince. A few verses from the description of his appearance may be interesting:—

سفید از عشق او چشم صباحت   نمک در زخم از حسنش ملاحت
نگاه گرم او سر جوش مستی   امام مذهب آتش پرستی
رخ او نو بهار لاله رنگی   خط او مصحف خط فرنگی
تغافل سایـه پرورد نگاهش   هجوم نازها گرد سپاهش

Khán-i-Árzú discussing the affinity between Persian and Sanskrit writes as follows:—

توافق............و آن گاهی بعینــه همان لفظ بود که به همان معنی که در فارسیست در هندی نیز باشد چنان که کلال و کپی که بهر دو زبان به همین معنٔی معروف آمده و گاهی آن که در یکی ازین دو زبان اندک تغیری داشته باشد در حرف مثل دس و ده که عدد معروفست اگرچه سین در هردو زبان به ها تبدیل یا مانند ماس و ماه که بعربی شهر خوانند یا در حرکت مانند نیکو که در هندی به کسر نون و یای معروف و فتح کاف و واو ساکن و در فارسی به یای مجهول و واو مجهول بمعنی خوب و خوش و این دو قسم بسیار است و گاهی در هر دو نسبت عموم و خصوص بود چنان که لفظ سمن که در هندی بمعنی مطلق گل است و در فارسی گل مخصوص و گاهی نسبت جزء و کل باشد چنان که انگشت که در هندی سر ابهام است و در فارسی انگشت مطلقاً.........

Expressing his view-point regarding Standard Persian, he says:—

و حق تحقیق آنست که زبان معتبر فارسی زبان اردوی بادشاهیست که بعد اختلاط فرق و جماعات قرار یافته لهــذا در شعر فصحا و نثر بلغا زبان دیگران نیست واگر احیاناً باشد بسبب قلت حکم عدم دارد و آن چه مقرر شده که فصیح و بلیغ از هر شهر و الکه که باشد بدان تکلم نماید و بزبان ملک خود مخلوط نسازد.........
......پس به تحقیق پیوست که افصح زبانهای فارسی زبان اردوست و زبان خاصهٔ هر ملک در شعر و انشا منظور نیست ـ ازین جاست که شاعر از هر ملک که باشد مثلاً خاقانی از شروان و نظامی از گنجــه و سنائی از غزنین و خسرو از دهلی به همان زبان مقرره حرف زند و آن نیست مگر زبان اردو .

Khán-i-Ārzú, as has already been stated, had the great disadvantage of being born in an age that was decidedly the most unfortunate in the whole history of Muhammadan Rule in India. The shaking of the Imperial authority and the all round maladministration, the wars of succession and the downfall of powerful noble families, the Marhatha inroads and the upsetting of peaceful life in the country, the independence of provincial governors and the financial bankruptcy of the Central Government, the foreign invasions and the exorbitant exactions and to crown all the helplessness of the State in saving the Capital from plunder, arson and massacre had created an atmosphere in which it was not possible for a literary genius to take full advantage of his great accomplishments. One is simply astonished to find that Khán-i-Ārzú, the tallest of the tall poppies grew in an almost arid soil, and inspite of the lack of proper nourishment produced, in great profusion, gorgeous flowers of the largest size.

In poetry the style of Khán-i-Ārzú was naturally as synthetic as could be expected in view of his all-embracing genius. The main features of the artistic concepts and expressions of his model poets combined with his own individual peculiarities imparted the whole technique the appearance of a wonderfully congruous blend. He considered the expression of novel ideas in elegant language to be the quintessence of beautiful poetry. He commanded uniform mastery over ghazal, qaṣída, mathnawí etc., etc., and represented all the aspects of poetical psychology of his age. So far as the astounding range and volume of his postry was concerned, even a dozen contemporary Persian-writing Indian poets put together could not bear comparison with him. With regard to his parallelism or Jawábgú'í it can safely be said that if production of díwáns in imitation of different standard poets were to be considered a feat, then no poet since the dawn of Persian poetry in India uptil its total extinction could be able to claim equality with this great master.

In lexicography the supremacy of Khán-i-Ārzú was simply unchallengeable. The compilers of earlier lexicographical works, who spent the whole of their lives in examining, correcting and bringing uptodate the ancient lexicons, paled into insignificance before him, for as a poet, poetician, critic and polyglot he had immense advantage over them. His original researches, accurate interpretation of illustrations and thorough criticism of words and expressions led scholars to believe that it was a sheer waste of time to turn to his predecessors for authentic information.

As the father of Indo-Persian Philology and discoverer of the existence of a close affinity between Persian and Sanskrit Khán-i-Ārzú

had the enviable distinction of being the first scholar to start researches in that unexplored field. It was in view of his achievements that Muḥsin gave him the credit of putting Persian on a footing equal to that of Arabic.

The contributions of Khán-i-Árzú to Poetics and Stylistics were in the nature of prototypes. These added another feather to his cap. Being a master-poet he was decidedly in a much better position than mere grammarians to deal with these subjects.

In criticism the paramountcy of Khán-i-Árzú was universally accepted. In fact, he was the critic of critics in the same sense as in English poetry Shelley is still looked upon as the poet of poets. His polymathy and highly developed aesthetic sense combined with his logical reasoning and adjudicative ability provided him with the halo of a supreme authority. Of course he sometimes became hypercritical, but it must be admitted that by doing so he added something new to the old canons of literary criticism.

As a commentator Khán-i-Árzú was superior to all those who went before him. His commentaries on Persian texts have a marked originality, and are, therefore, quite different from the expository works brought out by professional tutors, school-teachers and others who lacked creative understanding. Being atonce the appreciative criticism and exposition of texts concerned, they are meant to help such persons as are anxious to enjoy the real literary merits of the original works. According to H. Blochmann Khán-i-Árzú was the best commentator that India had produced.

In his capacity of the compiler of the *Majma'u'n-Nafá'is*, which in addition to biographical notices of 1715 poets with copious selections from their poems, abounds in critical remarks, controversial discussions, amusing anecdotes, personal opinion on various questions connected with the Persian Language and literature etc., etc., and has the distinction of surpassing all identical compilations in point of bulk, Khán-i-Árzú played the role of an encyclopaedist and as such occupied a unique position.

As a writter of beautiful sketches, descriptions and letters he had a pronounced individualism, and, therefore, ranked high in that respect as well. His sketches, descriptions and letters being largely in the form of topical prose-poems produce an exhilarating effect on the mind of the reader.

It is needless to say that on account of his comprehensive and versatile genius and the varied nature and vast scope of the voluminous works produced by him, Khán-i-Árzú richly deserves to be considered as belonging to that category of great men of letters and erudite scholars in which his illustrious compatriots Khusraú and Faidí were placed.

SANSKRIT LORE IN PERSIAN

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It is interesting to note that the countries to the west of India came in contact with Indian life and letters from very early times. In India itself Sanskrit and its allied literatures were maintained in continuous records from very ancient times. Outside India it is the Persians who were the first to take interest in this literature. Two famous collections of stories, namely, the book of the beast-fables, the Sanskrit *Pancatantra* of Viṣṇuśarman, which was known (in translation) in Persia in the sixth century under the Sásanid dynasty, and the book of the legend of the *Buddha* and the *Boddhisattva*, known under the names of *Barlaam* and *Joasaphat*, spread through Persia and Syria to the whole of the Islamic world and therefrom to other parts of Europe. It is generally admitted that the *Boddhisattva* is the figure whence *Joasaphat* is derived. The figure of the *Boddhisattva* was most probably taken up by Persian thought in Muslim times, made into a typical *ṣúfí*, taken thence to Baghdád and Syria where under Christian hands it was transformed into a *saint*.

Besides Abú Raiḥán Muḥammad al-Bírúní, the erudite chronicler of Indian philosophy and culture, and Amír Khusraú Dihlaví, the harbinger of the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture, there were others also who were well-known in India. Abú Ṣáliḥ Shu'aib translated ancient Indian works from Sanskrit into Persian—probably, the *Mahábhárata* of Vyás which was again rendered into Persian by Abú Ḥasan 'Alí Jilí, in 1026 of the Christian era.

Towards the close of the Ghaznavid dynasty during the regime of Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh, Abu'l Ma'álí Mustawfí (who acted as the chief secretary of the *Dáru'l-Insha'* during the time of Sulṭán Ibráhím Ibn Mas'úd the twentith Ghaznavid monarch) translated into Persian the Arabic version of Ibnu'l-Muqaffá's *Kalila-u-Dimnah* which was again a version of the Sanskrit *Pancatantra*. This was again translated into Persian prose, interspersed with poetry and Arabic quotations, by Mullá Ḥusain Wá'iẓ-i-Káshifí under the title of *Anwár-i-Suhailí'*. Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allámí at the instance of Emperor Akbar simplified Káshifí's *Anwár-i-Suháilí* and called it *'Iyár-i-Dánish*.

During the sack of Nagarkút in 772 of the Hijrí era (about the year 1360 of the Christian era), Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh Tughlaq found

thirteen hundred rare Sanskrit works in a temple at Jwálámukhí. The *paṇdits* of the temple were consulted, and in co-operation with Persian scholars, they rendered into Persian a number of Sanskrit works on astronomy. The most significant of them was the translation into Persian of an Indian work on astronomy under the name of *Dalá'il-i-Fírúz Shāhí* by 'Izzu'd-Dín Khálid Khání. Another work of importance on Indian astronomy entitled *Pancasiddhántiká* of Varáhamihira was translated into Persian by Shams-i-Siráj 'Afíf under the title *Tarjama-i-Barahí*. *Sangita-darpaṇa,* a Sanskrit treatise on Indian music, was also translated into Persian and was called *Ghunyatu'l-Munyáh.*

It was in the reign of Sulṭán Sikandar Lúdí that a work on Indian medicine, *Agáda-Mahávaidyaka*—the science of medicine and treatment of diseases—was translated into Persian under the supervision of Miyán Bhuawat Khán and was termed *Ṭibb-i-Sikandarí* or *Ma'ádinush-Shifá-i-Sikandarí Shāhí*. This work was decidedly an improvement on all other previous Persian translations on medicine and contains a detailed account of therapeutics, the structure of the human body, and the diagnosis and treatment of diseases.

The Muslim kingdoms of Kashmír and of the Deccan showed a fine spirit of toleration and displayed an active patronage to learning and culture. Among the works translated into Persian was Kalhana's *Rájataranginí*. Kalhana was well-equipped with good sources of information, and, as such, no writer could remotely approach his achievement in this field. The *Rájataranginí* is the well-known dynastic history of Kashmír and was known in Persian as *Baḥru'l-Asmár.* Ḥaider Malik bin Ḥasan Malik brought out his *Táríkh-i-Kashmír* on the basis of the same work. There is another book also under the name of *Bahárístán-i-Shāhí* from the same source. Nárāyaṇ Kaul also rendered into Persian the original work under the title of *Táríkh-i-Kashmír* or *Waqi'át-i-Kashmír.* The *Mahábhárata* was also translated into Persian during the reign of Sulṭán Zainu'l-Ábidín of Kashmir. Again during the regime of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Sháh Bahmaní, a medical work in Sanskrit named *Aṣṭánga-Hṛdaya* of Vágbhaṭa was translated and was named *Ṭibb-i-Maḥmúd Sháhí.* While at the instance of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Begrá, a work on the cure of horses was rendered into Persian by Zainu'l-Ábidín Karbalá'í, known as Háshimí, under the name of *Khail-Námah* or *Faras-Námah.*

With the accession of Emperor Akbar to the throne in 963 of the Hijrí era a hitherto unprecedented patronage was extended to Indian

learning and to the translation of important Sanskrit works, particularly on Indian philosophy and various sciences. According to Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allámí, Akbar's library consisted of a large and varied collections of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Greek works. The learned scholars who were engaged to translate the Sanskrit works into Persian were Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allámí, Akbar's scholarly prime minister S̲haik̲h Faiḍí, the poet-laureate, 'Abdu'l-Qádir Badáyúní, the eminent historian, Naqíb K̲hán, the outstanding theologian, S̲haik̲h Sulṭán Thánísarí, a noted philosopher, and Mullá S̲hírí, a great thinker, who were all assisted in their work of translation by an equally large number of Sanskrit scholars and *paṇdits*, well-versed in Indian philosophy and sciences. These translators along with Devi Brahmin, the renowned scholar and philosopher, and other *paṇdits* were housed in the library of the *Díwán-K̲háni* at Fatḥpúr Sikrí.

The spirit underlying the translations into Persian (made at the instance of Emperor Akbar) was none other than that described by Abu'l Faḍl 'Allámí in his preface to *Razm-i-Námah*, the Persian version of the *Mahábhárata*: " having observed the fanatical hatred between the Hindus and the Muslims and being convinced that it arose only from mutual ignorance, the enlightened monarch wished to dispel the same by rendering the books of the former accessible to the latter." The spirit of inquity initiated by Emperor Akbar proved a preliminary to the gradual evolution of Hindu-Muslim thought which not only enriched Indo-Persian literature but also aroused great interest in Indian philosophy and sciences.

The translation of *Atharva Veda*, a work on rituals, magic and popular practices, was first undertaken by 'Abdu'l-Qádir Badáyuní with the help of Bháwan K̲hán, a Brahmin convert, and later on by Ḥájí Ibráhím Sarhindí, and was termed *Athar-Bán*.

The *Rámáyaṇa* of Válmikí was begun by 'Abdu'l-Qádir Badáyuní in 992 of the Hijrí era and was completed after a duration of four years. Besides this, there are four other abridged versioos of the *Rámáyaṇa*. The first abridged version was begun by Girdhardas Kayesth and was dedicated to Emperor Jahángír; the second is a poetical translation under the title of *Rám-u-Sítá* by S̲haik̲h Sá'du'l-láh, known as Masíḥ Pánípatí. It was also completed in the reign of Emperor Jahángír, The third is by Shandaraman Kayesth during the reign of Aurangzíb 'Álamgír, completed in 1107 of the Hijrí era. The fourth again is a poetical version by an anonymous writer.

Again, in the reign of Emperor Akbar, eighteen *parvas* or chapters of the *Mahábhárata* were translated and entitled *Razm-i-Námah*.

Shaikh Faidí improved upon the prose translation of the *Mahábhárata* by adding the translation of two *parvas* or chapters to the *Razm-i-Námah*. The *Bhágavad Gítá* was translated under the name of *Gítá*, and Bhaskaracarya's *Lílávatí*, a work on arithmetic and geometry, and also Soma Deva's *Kathá-Sarit-Ságara*, a collection of stories, were rendered into Persian by Shaikh Faidí. The story of Raja Nala and Damyantí, an anecdote from the *Mahábhárata* termed *Nalopákhyána*, was rendered into *mathnaví* form by Shaikh Faidí and was named *Nal-u-Daman*. The most original work is the *Sháriqu'l-Ma'rifat*, a treatise on *Vedantic* philosophy, based on the *Yōgavásiṣtha* and the *Bhágavata Puráṇa*.

'Abdu'l-Qádir Badáyúní rendered the *Simhásanadvátriṁśat* or *Vikramánka-carita* or *Dvátriṁśat-puttaliká-siṁhásana* or *Divátriṁsat-puttaliká* into Persian and named it *Khirad-Afzá* at the order of Emperor Akbar in 982 of the Hijrí era. This work consists of thirty-two stories of the lion-throne. Another version is known as *Sháh-Námah* by Chaturbhujdas Miharchand. During the regime of Emperor Jahángír it was again rendered into Persian under the title of *Qiṣṣa-i-Bikramájit*. *Gul-Afshán* is another version of the same.

Mullá Shírí, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, translated Vyás's *Harivaṁśa*, the life of Krishna, and called it *Hari-Bans*.

It was during the regime of Emperor Sháhjahán that Prince Dárá Shikúh, who was passionately fond of Indian philosophy and religion, made invaluable additions to Indian thought. His translations include the *Upaniṣads* under the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar* or *Sirru'l-asrár*. The translation of the *Bhágavad Gítá* which is wrongly attributed to Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allámí was done by Prince Dárá Shikúh. The *Yogavásiṣtha* was rendered into Persian at his instance and was known as *Jug-Baṣhiṣht*. His important work is *Majma'u'l-Baḥrain*, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam. It may be noted here that the Sanskrit work, *Samudrasangama*, written in 1708 of the Christian era, is supposed to be the translation of *Majma'u'l-Baḥrain*. Again the genuine *dhurupads* of the famous musician, Bakhshawa of Gawaliar, were collected in a book and called *Ragahá-i-Hindí*. *Faqíru'l-láh* translated into Persian the explanation of Indian musical notes and melodies from the original Sanskrit work named *Rága-darpaṇa* or *Rága-vibodha*. In the days of Aurangzíb 'Álamgír, a Sanskrit work on Indian music and dance called *Párijátaka* was translated and termed *Tarjama-i-Párijátaka* by Mirzá Rúshan Ḍamír.

The *Puráṇic* literature was also translated and among others it included the *Śiva-puráṇa*, a work on Śiva and Śaivism, the *Bhágavata-*

Puráṇa, a treatise on *Bhakti,* the *Mahá-Viṣṇu-Puráṇa,* a work on Viṣṇu, and the *Skanda-Puráṇa,* a work on Śiva.

Muḥammad of Guwáliyár translated into Persian *Amṛtakuṇḍa,* a Sanskrit work on the religious and philosophical doctrines of the Hindus, under the title of *Baḥru'l-Ḥayát.* Mufti Táju'd-Dín translated Náráyaṇa Paṇḍit's *Hitopadeśa,* a collection of fables, which was named *Mufjariḥu'l-Qulúb.* A Persian translation of a Sanskrit work on Islamic theology and philosophy was made by Shaikh Kamál Muḥammad under the title of *Khúb Tarang.* Bháskarácárya's *Bíjagaṇita* a treatise on Algebra and Mensuration, was rendered into Persian by 'Aṭáu'l-láh Rashídí, and Mukammal Khán Gujarátí translated Nilkaṇṭha's *Tájika,* a work on astronomy, under the name of *Tájik. Śankara-Bháṣya,* a commentary on Badarayana's *Brahma-Sútras* by Śankara, was rendered into Persian by Laxmi Náráyaṇa under the name of *Ḥadá'iqu'l-Má'rifat,* and *Rámáśvamedha,* the life of *Rámá,* was translated into Persian by Makhanlal Ẓafar under the name of *Jahán-i-Ẓafar.* Again Roop Náráyaṇa Hari Náráyaṇa translated *Tirtha-Mahatmya* a treatise on the holy places of the Hindus and called it *Makhzanu'l-'Irfán.*

To sum up, during the Muslim rule in India most of the Sanskrit works were rendered into Persian with the help of Sanskrit scholars and *paṇḍits.* Those works included, among others, the *Mahábhárata,* the Indian Epic (in five different versions), the *Rámáyaṇa,* the story of Ráma and his wife Sítá (in five versions), the *Athrava Veda,* the book of magical spells, (in one), the *Upaniṣads,* a series of philosophical treatises, (in one), the *Bhagavad Gítá,* the philosophical didactic poem, (in four), the *Yogavásiṣṭha,* and Rámchandra, (in four), the *Pancatantra,* the book of beast-fables, (in six), the *Rájatarangini,* the dynastic history of Kashmir, (in six), and the *Siṁhásana-dvátriṁśat,* the thirty-two tales of the lion-throne, (in five versions). Besides, other works of importance such as those on medicine, music, astronomy, mathematics, and mythological stories and heroic legends as well as *Puráṇic* works, were rendered into Persian from about the end of the eight century to the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Hijrí era.

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THE BUWAYHID DYNASTY OF BAGHDAD

CHAPTER XI

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The relation of the Buwayhids with the 'Abbásid Caliphs

(a) *The Caliphs during the period*

Before describing the position of the Caliphs vis-a-vis the Buwayhid Amírs, it may be as well if we first consider the individual 'Abbásids of the period. Five 'Abbásid Caliphs ruled contemporaneously with the Buwayhids. They were: al-Mustakfí bi'lláh (334), al-Mutí'li'lláh (334-363), al-Tá'i'li'lláh (363-381), al-Qádir bi'lláh (381-422), and al-Qá'im bi amri'lláh, who survived till the coming of the Seljukids. Of these five Caliphs the first three were each deposed in turn, only the fourth al-Qádir died while still in office, having his son, al-Qá'im, nominated as his successor.

On Mu'izz al-Dawlah's coming to Baghdád the Caliph al-Mustakfí was still able to assert himself in some matters. Thus perhaps rather rashly he put under arrest the chief of the Shí'ís, al-Sháfi'í. But when his stewardess 'Alam gave a banquet to the Daylamites and Turkish army leaders, Mu'izz suspected this as a sinister move to detach the army leaders from him; and his Daylamites according to a previous arrangement dragged the Caliph down from his throne. Having thus deposed him Mu'izz then raised to the throne al-Mustakfí's cousin and rival, a son of al-Muqtadir, under the title of al-Mutí'li'lláh (Jumádá ii, 334).[1]

As the Daylamites were Shí'ís they felt no religious obligation to own allegiance to the 'Abbásid Caliph and as a matter of fact Mu'izz al-Dawlah sought the advice of his associates on the question of his doing away with the 'Abbásid line and paying homage instead to an 'Alid.[2] Most of them counselled Mu'izz al-Dawlah to do so but some

[1] M. II, 86-87.

[2] The 'Alid in view might have been Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muhammad ibn al-Dá'í son of the Dá'í al-Saghír Hasan who settled in Baghdád on the eve of the coming of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. In 348 Mu'izz al-Dawlah appointed him Naqíb of the 'Alids in which office he continued till 353 when during the absence of Mu'izz he took offence at the behaviour of Bakhtiyár and left Baghdád stealthily. (M. II, 207 f.n.; J.R.A.S., 1911, II, 670-674).

of his close friends prevented him from such a drastic step by saying:

> "So long as you are with a Caliph whom neither you nor your followers consider a legitimate sovereign, you can ask your followers even to kill him and they will comply, considering his blood lawful. But if you raise to the throne some 'Alid whom both you and your followers consider a Caliph by right, the latter might well induce your followers to kill you."[1]

Other causes for retention of the Caliphate seem to us to be the following: that majority populace at Baghdád was Sunní, that there were large numbers of Sunní Turks in the army of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, that a strong religious hold was still exercised by the titular Caliph over the Sunní commonalty and lastly that the legitimate claim of the 'Abbásids to the Caliphate could not be easily swept aside.[2] These were all considerations that must have influenced Mu'izz al-Dawlah when he decided to retain the Caliphate.

At the same time, apart from any personal inclination he may have felt, in order to satisfy the insistent demands of the 'Alids (that is to say the actual descendants of 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib) he decided to remove them from the jurisdiction of the 'Abbásid Naqíb (who stood at the head of all the Háshimís) and put them under a Naqíb of their own, thus creating a kind of exterritoriality for them within the state.[3] The first incumbent of this new office was Abú'l Ḥusayn Aḥmed b. 'Alí al-Kawkabí.[4] But the next was a more important personage and much esteemed by the Shí'ah in general. This was Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad known as 'Ibn al-Dá'í. The 'Alids pressed Mu'izz very hard to apoint him but the 'Son of the Dá'í' was only ready to comply on condition that he should not have to accept any robe from the Caliph since this would be black—the official 'Abbásid colour. For

[1] Ath. VIII, 339-340; M. II, f.n. p. 87 on the authority of Takmilah.

[2] This sentiment is voiced in this quotation from Takmilah.

و بنو العباس قوم منصورون تعتل دولتهم مرة وتصح مرارا و تمرض تارة
و تستقل اطوار الان اصلها ثابت و بنيانها راسخ

(as quoted in the foot-note of p. 87 M. II).

[3] Up to the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijrah the 'Abbásids and the 'Alids were under one 'Naqíb'. The last named by Arib was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Háshimí, who succeeded his father Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-Ṣamad in 301 in the post. ('Aríb's Ṭabarí Continuatus, 47).

[4] He was a descendant of Zain al-'Ábidín, the son of Ḥusayn b. 'Alí. His exact date of appointment is not known. Author of Ḥadá'iq' says that when Mu'izz al-Dawlah established himself in Baghdád he made al-Kawkabi the Naqíb of the 'Alids (Ḥadá'iq, f. 62b). Miskawayh (II, 159) has it that in 344 Mu'izz al-Dawlah sent him to 'Imran b. Shahím as his envoy. So he must have been appointed at least before 344.

the same reason he would not appear before the Caliph on any occasion on which he might have to wear black robes or kiss the ground before him as had by now become customary at court. However, all these points were conceded and Ibn al-Dá'í became Naqíb in 348, his position being one of no small influence and his independence of the Caliph complete.[1] In private Mu'izz al-Dawlah spoke of the 'Son of the Dá'í' in high sounding terms saying that he was the Imám[2] and sometimes even venturing to remark that he was quite competent to replace al-Muṭí'.[3] Whether sincere or not in so expressing himself, Mu'izz al-Dawlah had to act in this way in order to satisfy the Shí'ah in general and the 'Alids in particular, and having once so played on their emotions, he was obliged to go still further, as we shall see.

In all this he encountered no opposition from the Caliph. For al-Muṭí' since he owed his throne to the Amír was dealt with both by Mu'izz and Bakhtiyár with little consideration. Al-Muṭí' was, however, deposed in 363 by Subektekín, leader of the rebellious Turks, who did so on the plea that the Caliph had been stricken with paralysis and was thus incapacitated from attending to his public duties. Subektekín, being a Sunní, had to engineer the abdication with tact, giving it an appearance of legality. Thus the Caliph al-Muṭí' announced his abdication as though of his free will in front of the witnesses and Qáḍi al-quḍát. He was succeeded by his son, Abú Bakr 'Abdu'l-Karím who ascended the throne of the Caliphate under the title al-Ṭá'i'.[4]

It was unfortunate for al-Ṭá'i' that having been raised to the throne by a usurper he was immediately after his accession called upon to fight the legitimate Amír, Bakhtiyár. However, being thus ill disposed towards Bakhtiyár the new Caliph not only welcomed 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's coming to Baghdád but had even carried on a secret correspondence with him beforehand.[5] 'Aḍud al-Dawlah accordingly found the Caliph an easy and pliable instrument to be used for any purpose he wanted. Al-Ṭá'i' survived as Caliph into the reign of Bahá al-Dawlah. But being in need of money, in 381, Bahá took the advice of one of his courtiers and arrested and deposed him in order to seize his treasure. Bahá al-Dawlah then raised to the throne abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad b. al-Muqtadir under the title al-Qádir bi'lláh.[6]

1 Ḥadá'iq, f. 63a; 'Umdat, f. 27b.
2 *Ibid.*, f. 63a.
3 *Ibid.*, f. 62b.
4 M. II, 327-328; Tan. M. II (I.C. 1932), p. 187.
5 Ṣábí's letters, 195.
6 *Ibid.*, 201-202.

The accession of al-Qádir marks a turning point in the relationship of the Caliphs to the Amírs. Abú Shujá' makes the point that the impious action of Bahá al-Dawlah in deposing al-Ṭá'i' was in fact beneficial, leading as it did to the more meritorious reign of al-Qádir.[1] Though the remark of Abu Shuja' that " Al-Qádir ruled in both spiritual and temporal affairs "[2] is no doubt exaggerated yet, as we shall see, his reign though for completely different reasons marks a dividing line between a subservient Caliph and an assertive one.

During the reign of al-Qá'im, the position of the Caliphate improved still more, and with the decline of the Buwayhids the Caliph played an important part in affairs. It is to an analysis of the causes of these changes that we shall now turn. In the first place we shall take up the gradual surrender of his prerogatives by the Caliph under the pressure from the Amírs and while doing so we may be sometimes taken to the end of the Buwayhid period to show that concessions once having been made, were allowed to be retained even by the weakest of the Amírs. We shall then trace the background of the causes of the resurgence of the Caliphs and deal with their assertion of their rights in the purely religious sphere where their position became assured once and for all, describing at the same time occasional attempts on the part of the Caliphs at re-establishing themselves even politically.

(b) *The first phase of relationship between the Caliph and the Amír al-Umará (334-389).*

For a constitutional status of the Amír al-Umará we must go back to the year 324 when the Caliph al-Rádí bestowed that office for the first time on Ibn Rá'iq. Ibn Rá'iq was made Amír al-Umará with comprehensive power over the army, the management of the taxes and public security in the whole region under the Caliph's control. In short the management of the entire kingdom (تدبير المملكة) was surrendered into his hands and the Khuṭbah was to be read in his name as well as the Caliph's from all the pulpits of that region.[3]

The rights thus conferred upon Ibn Rá'iq were in reality a complete surrender by the Caliph of the entire civil and military government and though there was in fact not the slightest ambiguity about it, the

[1] Sábí's letters, 201.
[2] Ibid., 207.
[3] M. I. 351. The pulpits of Baghdád were of course to be excluded for later events show that none before 'Aḍud was ever allowed to have his name announced from the pulpits of Baghdád.

Caliph was nevertheless not yet mentally prepared to acknowledge it. The main issue involved in the whole event was the position of the Wazír. Was he to be an officer of the Caliph as had been so long the case or was he to be a nominee of the Amír al-Umará ? If the collection of the revenues was to be surrendered into the hands of the Amír al-Umará in real earnest, the Caliph need have no Wazír. But the Caliphs clung tenaciously to their prerogative of maintaining a Wazír to the very end of the rule of the period of the pre-Buwayhid Amírs (334).

The result was that the Wazír became completely powerless. He had no longer any control of the provinces and the Díwáns. He had merely the title and the right of appearing in black on ceremonial days at the palace. But he stood there in silence. Ibn Rá'iq and his secretary controlled the whole business of the state and Miskawayh says that the same had been the case with all who have held the Amírate to his day (d. 421).[1]

> "The revenue from the provinces is transmitted to the treasury of the Amírs; they order and prohibit everything regarding it and expend it as they please while remitting what they choose to the Sulṭán (the Caliph) for his expenses. The old treasuries ceased to exist."[2]

The loss of his hold on the provinces and his control over the treasury on the part of the Caliph were the natural outcome of his surrender of the Kharáj into the hands of the Amír al-Umará. The last vestige of the former system, namely the maintenance of a Wazír as the Caliph's nominee and officer was one devoid of any real meaning. It was inevitable accordingly that with the coming of the Buwayhids it should be swept away.

Mu'izz al-Dawlah did not raise the question of Wazírs for some considerable time after his establishment. In the meantime all the work naturally appertaining to a Wazír was being done by his secretaries, the only alteration from the previous period being that the Caliph no longer had a Wazír but only a secretary to look after his fiefs. Once the people had become accustomed to this arrangement Mu'izz al-Dawlah decided in 345, to address his own secretary as Wazír; and

[1] Though the Wazírs of the Buwayhid period held the title of Wazír, they were no better than merely the secretary of the Amír and so the historians of the period considered them as secretaries and hence the remark.

[2] M. I, 352.

al-Muṭí' was powerless to object to this innovation even if he so wished.[1]

When Mu'izz al-Dawlah decided to retain the Caliphate and at the same time deprive it of its control of the provinces he made the Caliph a stipendiary assigning to him two thousand dirhams a day for his personal expenses,[2] but as its payment tended to be irregular he in addition granted some fiefs to the Caliph, which were known as *'Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah'*, yielding a revenue of two hundred thousand dínárs annually. These were supervised by the Caliph's personal secretary.[3] Two years after his establishment in Baghdád, however, Mu'izz stopped the daily allowance of the Caliph altogether, leaving him to rely on his *'Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah'* alone.[4] Subsequently even the income of these estates also dwindled on account of encroachments on the part of the dependents of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and those of Bakhtiyár, some of whom appropriated the outlying portions of the Caliph's estates, while óthers obtained some of them as fiefs from him, and still others undertook tax-farm on them, which they had no intention of paying.[5]

During the civil war between Subektekín and Bakhtiyár, however, the latter undertook to increase al-Ṭá'i''s estates in Sawád so that they should bring him in an additional revenue of thirty thousand dínárs but was never in a position to do so.[6] 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, after he had defeated the Turks and put Bakhtiyár and his brothers under arrest in 364, not only returned all the original *'Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah'* to the Caliph but honoured him further by presenting him with money, slaves, horses, wearing apparel, rich furniture and various other objects.[7]

Ibn al-Jawzí states that the income from the estates of the Caliph decreased in course of time to only fifty thousand dínárs annually[8] and eventually we find the Caliph becoming once again a stipendiary. During the reign of Sulṭán al-Dawlah, the latter used to pay the Caliph al-Qádir every year almost the same amount[9] besides two hundred manns of aloes wood, fifty manns of camphor, five hundred items of

1 See above, Chapter VII, Section on Wazír.
2 M. II, 87.
3 M. II, 107-108; Ath. VIII, 338.
4 I.J. VI, 357.
5 M. II, 344.
6 Ṣábí's letters, 242.
7 M. II, 344.
8 I.J. VI, 357.
9 It was eight hundred thousand dirhams and ten thousand dínárs which come to about the same amount.

luxurious clothing and an unspecified quantity of scent; and Jalál al-Dawlah agreed to continue this for the next Caliph al-Qá'im.[1] It looks therefore as if the *'Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah'* must have been withdrawn in exchange for these allowances. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that in the year 446 we find the Caliph and his whole entourage in receipt of monthly allowances. For Arslán al-Basásírí, the Turkish commander, then stopped the monthly allowance of the Caliph (Mushâhirát) from the mint and also the monthly allowances of Ra'ís al-Ru'asá, the Caliph's Wazír and his attendants.[2]

But besides either enjoying fiefs or being paid a salary the Caliphs seem to have been allotted the proceeds from the Jizyah or Jawálí, the poll-tax payable by the non-Muslim subjects and though Jalál al-Dawlah appropriated the proceeds of the Jawálí in 434 he was obliged in the following year again to allow their appropriation by the Caliph's officers.[3]

Even from his personal income the Caliph was sometimes asked to make contributions. When thus asked by Bakhtiyár to make a donation for the Holy war the Caliph al-Muṭí' replied in words which indicate in unambiguous terms the position of the Caliph as it stood after the Buwayhid occupation. He said,

> "The sacred war would be incumbent on me if the world were in my hands and if I had the management of the army and the troops. As things are, when all I have is a pittance insufficient for my wants, and the world is in your hands and those of the provincial rulers, neither the sacred war, nor the pilgrimage, nor any other matter requiring the attention of the Sovereign is any concern of mine. All you can claim from me is the name which is uttered in the Khuṭbah from your pulpits as a means of pacifying your subjects and if you wish me to renounce that privilege too, I am prepared to do so and leave everything to you."[4]

This offer was not accepted. The Caliph was never obliged to forgo the mention of his name in the Khuṭbah, since this was rather to the advantage of the Amírs. On the other hand after 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's return from Mawṣil in 368, al-Ṭá'i' had to issue an order to his deputies in the public mosques of Baghdád instructing them to include the name of the Amír immediately after his own.[5]

1 MU. MS. f. 134A.
2 Ath. IX, 413.
3 *Ibid.*, 450.
4 M. II, 307; Ath. VIII, 456.
5 M. II, 396.

The Caliph's prerogative of having music played at his gate at the five times of prayer had likewise to be partially conceded to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah to the extent of his having three of these nawbahs, as they were called, daily, in the morning, in the evening and at night. The mention of his name in the Khuṭbah in Baghdád and the playing of nawbahs before his palace were the two privileges which no ruler but a Caliph before 'Aḍud al-Dawlah had enjoyed.[1] But these now became well established for all the subsequent Amírs as well. Moreover when Sulṭán al-Dawlah entered Baghdád in 409 he ordered all five nawbahs to be played for him and persisted in this innovation in spite of the Caliph's protest.[2] Musharrif al-Dawlah reduced his nawbahs to three again but when Jalál al-Dawlah came to Baghdád in 418, he once more raised his to five. The Caliph protested on which Jalál refused to have any nawbah at all and the Caliph gave in.[3]

Another humiliation to which the Caliph was subjected by 'Aḍud was his being obliged to go out of the city and welcome the Amír on his return from expeditions. Thus on his way back from the Jibál expedition in 370 'Aḍud sent an 'Alid to Baghdád asking al-Ṭá'i' to welcome him and though greatly reluctant to comply the Caliph had no alternative but to do so.[4]

The privilege of coining money was also lost to the Caliph under the domination of the Amírs. For the Buwayhids controlled the mints, with the result that the epithet 'Amír al-Mu'minín' after the Caliph's name was omitted on the coins of this period. Too much space on them was indeed occupied by the titles of the Amírs. For the Buwayhids received from the Caliphs more and more high-sounding titles for themselves. To begin with, they were single and each compounded with the word 'Dawlah' as in Mu'izz al-Dawlah, 'Imád al-Dawlah etc.; then they became double, *e.g.* ''Aḍud al-Dawlah' wa 'Táj al-Millah and finally assumed the form of a pair of double titles, *e.g.* 'Bahá al-Dawlah wa Giyáth al-Ummah Qiwám al-Dín Ṣafíy Amír al-Mu'minín'.[5] Even the title *Sháhánsháh* or its Arabic equivalent

[1] M. II, 396; Ath. VIII, 407; I.J. VII, 92.
[2] MU. MS. f. 37b.
[3] I.J. VIII, 30.
[4] I.J. VII, 104.
[5] Still later the titles of Sulṭán al-Dawlah were

عماد الدين شرف الدولة مؤيد الملة مغيث الامة صفى امير المؤمنين

(MU. MS. f. 12b.) and those of Abú Kálíjár were:

شاهنشاه الاعظم ملك الملوك محيى دين الله و غياث عباد الله و قسيم خليفة الله

(Sírat al-Mu'ayyad, 76).

Malik al-Mulúk was revived by the Buwayhids and its use on coins and seals and in correspondence can be traced back to the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah,[1] though application for the formal grant of this title was made only in 429 by Jalál al-Dawlah. The Caliph al-Qá'im duly granted this title but its recital from the pulpits aroused indignant protest from the general public, who considered it blasphemous and rioted, pelting the Khaṭíbs with stones. When the question was referred to a committee of jurists, however, most of them declared it legal.[2]

Besides losing his political prerogative the Caliph as guardian of the Sunní Faith also failed to prevent the introduction of religious innovations by the Buwayhid rulers. We reserve the detailed discussion of these matters for the next chapter, but may mention here that al-Muṭí' was powerless to protest effectively when in 351 Mu'izz al-Dawlah introduced the cursing of Mu'áwiyah and other companions of the Prophet and nor, in 352, could he or the Sunnís prevent the public performance of the Shí'í ceremonies of the 'Áshúrah and the Ghadír.[3] Even the appointment of a judge—a strictly religious matter—by Mu'izz in 350 on a purely contractual basis[4] could not but be tolerated by the Caliph, though fortunately he was dismissed in 352 for quite different reasons.[5]

There was one respect, however, in which the Caliph held his own or was allowed to hold it and that was in the procedural part of the administration because the formal recognition of the Caliph's authority in such matters gave legal validity to the *de facto* authority of the Amírs, though it did not in any way conflict with the actual functioning of their sovereignty. For example, the Caliph would regularly hold assemblies of investiture for governors and high officers including the Amír al-Umará himself, and would confer titles. In this connection the great assembly for investiture of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah in which the

1 A coin of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah dated Baṣrah 371 (Lane-poole, Add., 261) and a coin of Fakhr al-Dawlah of Rayy d. 374 (Miles, 170) are the instances of early occurrences of the title Sháhansháh. Later it became very common with Bahá al-Dawlah, Sultán al-Dawlah, Musharrif al-Dawlah, Jalál al-Dawlah and Abú Kalíjár.

2 I.J. VII, 97-98.

3 See below Chapter X.

4 M. II, 188-189.

5 M. II, 196; Ath. VIII, 407.
The dismissal was effected by the persuasion of Ibn al-Dá'í mentioned above. See J.R.A.S., 1910, Pt. ii, 789-790.

utmost pomp and grandeur were displayed in 369 is especially noteworthy.[1] Though the legality of such appointments cannot be doubted, the investitures sometimes were in fact something of a mockery, since the Caliph had no real power and often did merely as he was told. Thus in 343 at the request of Mu'izz al-Dawlah the Caliph invested Ibn Muḥtáj, the rebel Sámánid general, with the province of Khúrásán.[2] Similarly Bakhtiyár in order to win over Fakhr al-Dawlah and the latter's general Sahlán, asked the Caliph to invest them with certain territories which they accordingly received as governors appointed by the Caliph and not as deputies of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, as had been previously arranged. Nevertheless out of fear of the latter none of them ventured to don the robes of honour sent by the Caliph and "the affair became," says Miskawayh, "mere mockery and insult."[3] To sum up, therefore, the loss of the Caliph's power was a natural outcome of the constitutional status assigned to the Amír al-Umará by the Caliph himself and was accentuated by the conversion of the Amirate into a heritable office. Moreover the frequent deposition of Caliph and the selection by the Amírs of their successors facilitated encroachment on the Caliph's prerogatives.

(c) *The Second Period (389-447).*

During this period with the gradual decline of the Buwayhids the Caliphs did their utmost to re-assert their authority. They were assisted in so doing by the Amír's frequent absence from Baghdád, as for instance, that of Bahá al-Dawlah, who left the city for good in 384. They were encouraged moreover by the emergence of a new orthodox power under Maḥmúd ibn Subektekin of Ghaznah, who in 389 brought to an end the Sámánid rule in Khurásán. The latter though Sunní had refused many a time to recognise a Caliph raised to the throne by the Shí'í Buwayhids and no Khuṭbah was read in al-Qádir's name from the pulpits of Khurásán till its occupation by Maḥmúd. Maḥmúd not only recognised the Caliph but showed unswerving loyalty to him, writing to him a long letter of submission. He compared his victory at Marw with the first victory of the 'Abbásid forces under Abú Muslim against the Umayyads. "This (Marw) is the auspicious town" he wrote to the Caliph, "where the 'Abbásid propaganda commenced and the Umayyad usurpation ceased." A new hope was thus raised for the Caliph for a revival of the orthodox faith by the efforts of this new and energetic 'servant of the commander of the faithful.[4]

1 These things are discussed in detail by Siddiqui, Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia, 58.

2 M II, 156.

3 M II, 364-365.

4 H., 341-345.

Henceforth almost every year letters reached Baghdád from Maḥmúd expressing his renewed allegiance to the Caliph and relating many pleasing details of Maḥmúd's Holy Wars against the infidels in India and elsewhere.[1] His letters often contained, also, indignant references to the Caliph's rivals—the Fáṭimids; and in 403 Maḥmúd sent al-Qádir a special envoy to relate how the Fáṭimid al-Ḥákim had addressed a letter to Maḥmúd asking him to own allegiance to him. The messenger related with gusto how, far from doing any such thing, Maḥmúd had torn the letter to pieces and indignantly spat on it.[2] Similarly in 416 another messenger arrived from Ghaznah bringing with him some presents which the anti Caliph had bestowed on Maḥmúd's officer-in-charge of the pilgrimage. The Caliph then held an assembly in which these presents were displayed and then burnt.[3]

Nevertheless the rise of the Ghaznavid power in the East obliged the Caliph in some way to be even more cautious than before in his dealings with his Buwayhid protectors. When, for instance, al-Qádir in the course of investing Sultán al-Dawlah presented him with a special sword wherewith 'to conquer the East and the West," Maḥmúd immediately protested since he considered such conquests a privilege reserved for himself; on which the Caliph had to apologise and mollify him by sending him robes of honour and a crown, a collar and bracelets.[4] It must also have been an awkward moment for al-Qádir, when in 420 he received a letter from Maḥmúd informing him that he had put an end to the Buwayhid line of Rayy, though this was no doubt almost as welcome news to the Caliph as the further information that Maḥmúd had taken the opportunity to persecute the Báṭinís and 'innovators' of that region.[5]

After the death of Maḥmúd (412) and the decline of his dynasty the championship of the cause of orthodoxy passed to a still more vigorous race, the Ghuzz. The Caliph now pinned his hopes of getting rid of the Buwayhids on them. It is accordingly against this background of revival of orthodoxy that the resurgence of the Caliph as a powerful political factor is to be studied. We propose now to trace this development from the year 389 to the end of our period.

In 391, the Caliph al-Qádir held an assembly for the pilgrims from Khurásán and announced to them that he had appointed his son Abú'l-Faḍl as his heir and had given him the title al-Ghálib bi'lláh.[6]

[1] I.J. VII, 256, 262, 276, 292, see for these letters. [2] I.J. VII, 262.
[3] I.J. VIII, 21-22. [4] MU. MS., f. 12b.
[5] I.J. VIII, 38-40. [6] I.J. VII, 219.

This son, however, predeceased him. So in 421 al-Qádır had another of his sons, the future al-Qá'im bi Amri'lláh, declared as successor and after his death in the following year al-Qá'im duly ascended the throne of the Caliphate.[1]

Perhaps the earliest instance of opposition on the part of a Caliph to what he considered improper interference by an Amír occurred when in 394 Bahá al-Dawlah appointed the 'Alid Abú Aḥmad al-Músawí as chief judge and President of the Court of Appeal (Maẓálim) as well as (what was perfectly admissible) Naqíb of the 'Alids. Al-Qádir then protested and carried his point. The Amír had to be satisfied by giving him all the other posts except that of the Chief Qáḍí.[2]

Then in 401 Qirwásh b. Muqallad, the Shí'í ruler of Mawṣil had the name of the Fáṭimid al-Ḥákim declared from the pulpits. On this al-Qádir sent Abú Bakr al-Báqilání as his personal representative to remonstrate with Bahá al-Dawlah in Shíráz. Bahá al-Dawlah in turn remonstrated with Qirwásh, who apologised and re-established the Khuṭbah in al-Qádir's name.[3]

This action of Qirwásh so near at hand roused the Caliph to counter measures. Next year he caused a document to be drawn up showing the pedigree of the Fáṭimids to be spurious and had it signed not only by the most eminent Sunnís but also the leading Shí'ís, such as al-Raḍí and al-Murtadá. The Caliph's ability pretty well to insist on their compliance in this case shows to what extent he had already recovered his influence. To please him moreover all the eminent persons who put their signatures to this document fulminated against the rival Caliphs of Egypt with all the eloquence at their command.[4] The next Caliph al-Qá'im went even further. In 427 he prohibited all transaction in Maghribí dínárs, and this, if his prohibition had been obeyed, would have entailed complete severance between the Fáṭimid and 'Abbásid areas.[5] In 444, again, he also issued another manifesto disproving the Fáṭimid's pedigree.[6] From this onwards indeed the Caliph appears as the 'Defender of the true Faith' and in 408 the Caliph al-Qádir arranged a recantation of their faith by the Mu'tazilah and other 'innovators'. Declarations were issued from the Caliph's palace defining the creed of Sunnite Islám and warnings were sounded against the

1 I.J. VIII, 47-48.
2 I.J. VII, 226-227.
3 I.J. VIII, 248-251.
4 I.J. VII, 255-256; MU. MS. f. 1a-b.
5 I.J. VIII, 88; Ath. IX, 308.
6 Ath. IX, 406.

preaching of what was held by the orthodox to be the pernicious doctrine that the Qur'án had been created.[1]

The death of al-Qádir and the accession of al-Qá'im synchronised with the death of Maḥmúd so that the first years of the latter Caliph witnessed the decline of the Ghaznavids in Persia and the rise of the Ghuzz under Tughril beg. It was largely the rise of the Ghuzz and Ṭughril's championship of orthodoxy that emboldened al-Qá'im to assert himself still more.

Thus in 426, after complaining to Jalál al-Dawlah of the deplorable state of lawlessness into which the capital had fallen, he took the opportunity of demanding that a Turkish slave who had trespassed into his orchard and eaten some of his fruits should be brought before him (the Caliph) for trial and until the Amir acceded forbade the 'Ulamá to co-operate with the administration and even threatened to leave Baghdád himself. His object apparently was to establish a division of responsibility between the Amír and himself as Caliph whereby the administration of justice and the maintenance of the Khuṭbah should be the Caliph's concern, that of the Amír should be general administration and the maintenance of law and order. In the end the slave was duly brought before him, though later allowed him to go.[2]

Further demonstration of a differentiation between political and religious authority occurred in 427, when after the arrest of the Wazír Abú'l-Qásim Ibn Mákúlá Jalál al-Dawlah also wanted to arrest the Wazír's brother, the Qáḍíal-quḍát, the Caliph afforded protection to the latter and said in reply:

> "Nothing remained of our affairs except (our control of) this deputy who is now in any protection. But he is actually for your sake and not for my interest. He never exercises any political function (تصرفا سلطانيا) so that he may be liable for condemnation."[3]

Al-Qá'im was able in the end again to carry his point over the Jizyah (poll-tax) when in 434 Jalál al-Dawlah seized it for his own purposes, though till then throughout the Buwayhid period its collection and disposal had remained a prerogative of the Caliphs. After an exchange of letters it was finally agreed that the tax should again be

1 See below Chapter XII.
2 I.J. VIII, 82; Ath. IX, 299-300; MU. MS., f. 106b.
3 I.J. VIII, 89; MU. MS., ff. 107b-108a.

collected by the Caliph's agents in the following year, as in the event it was.[1] The Caliph thus asserted his authority as regards some of the more strictly religious attributes of his office. We say some because the separation of political sovereignty from religious in Islám is difficult and though the Caliph succeeded in recovering some of his lost power in such affairs as we have mentioned, he was still unable, even if he wanted, to fulfil the two most important of his religious obligations, namely, to prosecute the Jihád and to perform the pilgrimage, which he avoided simply on the plea that none of the provinces were any longer under his control.[2]

Besides the powers which the Caliphs were allowed to retain as the chief source of honour and authority, they strove not only to regain control of some of the more strictly religious departments of the administration, in doing which, as we have shown, they were by no means unsuccessful, but also to win back some of the political power they had been deprived of. At least in one respect, the Caliph al-Qá'im was successful here too. In the first place he contrived to lend a certain new pomp to his secretariat and he gave his secretaries high-sounding titles such as *'Amíd al-Ru'asá* and *Ra'ís al-Ru'asá*.[3] He even ventured to bestow on one of his secretaries (Ibn al-Maslamah) a title—*Jamál al-Ward Sharaf al-Wuzará*[4]—implying that he was not a mere secretary at all but a Wazír and so regained the long obsolete prerogative of having a Wazír, which though politically it did not mark any real enhancement of his power, yet placed him in this respect at least on a par with the Amír. Al-Qá'im's Wazír Ra'ís al-Ru'asá Ibn al-Maslamah moreover wielded great influence in the capital and it was the antagonism between him and the Shí'í commander al-Basásírí that precipitated the coming of Ṭughril Beg to Baghdád.

The prestige and influence of the Caliph increased in two other respects during the period of Buwayhid decline. In the quarrels of the Turkish soldiery with the Amírs, the Caliph was repeatedly selected as the arbitrator by the former whom they addressed as their supreme lord. In the negotiation the Caliph emphasised his position as the Amírs' overlord communicating with them through the two Naqíbs of the 'Abbásids and the 'Alids and his own chamberlain. At the same time he insisted on the legitimate rights of Banú Buwayh to the Amirate

[1] Ath. IX, 350; I.J. VIII, 113-114; MU. MS., 133b-134a. I.J. VIII, 116.
[2] I.J. VII, 133-114.
[3] These secretaries were respectively 'Amíd al-Ru'asá Abú Ṭálib Ibn Ayyúb and Ra'ís al-Ru'ásá, ibn al-Maslamah (I.J. VIII, 175 and 127).
[4] I.J. VIII, 151; Subkí III, 275.

almost to the end and consequently his mediation was accepted both by the soldiery and the Amírs themselves.[1] The Amírs were correspondingly obliged for their own sakes to support the honour and sanctity of the Caliph and so recognise the status of his palace as a place of sanctuary even when its use as such by rebels conflicted with their own interests [2]

1 To give one example among many; the revolt of the Turks against Jalál al-Dawlah in 419 and the Caliph's mediation in it. (I.J. VIII, 35; Ath. IX, 257).

2 Instances of this are the refuge taken by Bárṣṭughán in the palace in 427 I.J. VIII, 89 and by 'Anbar, after misappropriating some money, at a later date. (I.J. VIII, 114; MU. MS. f. 134a).

THE PERSIAN SCENE

By Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.

Iran planning diplomatic ties with Israel.—It was reported from Teheran on July 18, that Iran is planning to set up a full-scale diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv, despite repeated protests from Arab countries.

Though Persia has given de facto recognition to Israeli, she has not established a mission there because of a shortage of funds and out of respect for Arab feelings.

She has at present only one consular officer in Tel Aviv who assists Swiss Embassy officials to look after Persian interests.

On July 27, Mr. Abbas Aram, the Iranian Foreign Minister, formally announced that Iran had cut off diplomatic relations with the U.A.R.

Mr. Aram told reporters the decision to order the U.A.R. Ambassor to leave Teheran was taken after President Nasser's speech in Alexandria attacking the Shah. The U.A.R. ordered the expulsion of the Iranian envoy.

Sidelights on Iran's elections.—(By J. A. Mazandi in the "Teheran Journal," 18th July, 1960).

In Iran the Shah is above the party system. Constitutionally he can appoint or dismiss a Prime Minister, if he sees fit. He can also dissolve parliament. He practically decides which projects his country needs, the bills that should be presented for passage by the Legislature and the conduct, generally, of Home and Foreign Policy. He constantly guides the government in all its programmes and undertakings.

Because of his powers it would not matter the least to him which deputy is elected to the Majlis and which party and government assumes office. If he should disapprove of the government or the Majlis he can ask both, if necessary, to go home. He has announced that he had instructed the government to keep the election free and honest.

The cry, therefore, now is: "Free elections on the Shah's orders." The Premier's party says it will do all it can to carry out the Shah's orders; the Mardom says it doubts the government will implement these orders; the Independents say the government will not and cannot implement them, for if the government does, it will lose the elections.

When will ballotting itself begin ? The answer is anyone's guess. The procedure has hardly changed at all since Persians first got a constitution and began voting.

Once it is decided to begin the elections the Ministry of Interior sends out instructions to governments and governors-general throughout the country to invite "reliable" persons to form electoral councils in their respective areas for supervising the elections. Each of these councils comprise thirty-six members. These councils usually take ten days to be set up and, in turn, they spend ten days in preparation for the ballotting proper such as fixing the locale and getting the boxes. ready, etc., then finally fixing the day when polling itself may take place. Again, normally, they must give at least some five days' time to voters to get to the boxes from their respective districts or villages, some of which are four to five days' mule ride away. Polling may last as long as ten days or more in each place before the votes are counted (two or three days or more). The results are then announced and the public allowed within a period of ten days, to summit their protests, if any, on the conduct of the elections. If there are no protests the deputies-elect assemble in the capital with their credentials, given to them by the Ministry of Interior; and attend the Majlis inaugural session. Once their credentials are approved by an open vote of the House, they become full fledged members of the Majlis. The Shah then officially inaugurates Parliament. The government resigns and the party with the majority assumes the reins.

To vote one must be at least twenty years old. Criminals, imbeciles and women are barred both from voting or being elected.

The prerequisite for being elected to the Majlis is: to be of Iranian nationality, at least 30 years old and not above seventy, to be literate, to have been a resident of the constituency for at least six months and without a criminal record.

Iran's minorities are eligible for election ; Zoroastrians, one deputy ; Jews, one ; Assyrians, one and Armenians, two. The other 195 seats go to Moslems.

The voter drops his ballot into a sealed box in the presece of the electoral council, has his indentity card stamped and his forefinger, right hand, marked with indelible ink to guard against his attempting to vote again.

Every voter must ballot on his one slip of paper for the total number of deputies in a constituency. Tehran city is one constituency with fifteen deputies. Although there will be a score of polling centres in this city, each voter must put the name of fifteen of his choice on

his single slip. For an illiterate this would be impossible—and thousand of illiterates vote—others must perforce, and do, prepare these slips and hand them to the voters to be dropped into the boxes.

Iranian Elections scheduled for 3rd. August.—Teheran, Aug. 1.—Iranians will go to the polls on Aug. 3 to elect 200 deputies from among the candidates put up by the two political parties the Melliyun (the nation) and the Mardom (people) and some independents.

Assurances given by the Shah that the elections will be completely free are being availed of by the contesting parties to build massive electioneering campaigns. Accusations and counter-accusations are flying thick and fast as each of the parties seeks to point out discrepancies in their opponents present and past plans.

About five hundred candidates will contest to the 200 majlis seats. Of these, the Melliyun and Mardom parties have nominated 200 each while the remaining 100 are independents. Each candidate therefore has a one-in-three chance of being elected.

No safe bets are open yet as to who will win the elections, but one thing that has become apparent in the last few days is a general quickening of interest in the elections by the man in the street, who, until a short time ago seemed to view the coming event with little interest.

New Prime Minister in Iran.—It was announced in Tehran on August 29 that Dr. Sharif Emami was appointed Persian Prime Minister in place of Dr. Manuchehr Eghbal who resigned after differences with the Shah over the handling of the general election.

Dr. Emami, a former Deputy Minister of Labour, was Mining and Industry Minister under Eghbal's Cabinet. His appointment by the Shah was announced by the Palace.

Dr. Eghbal told the Cabinet he was leaving office because the Shah had expressed dissatisfaction over the conduct of this month's general election.

Dr. Eghbal read the resignation letter, which he presented to the Shah and said that he had told the Shah that he had served loyaly for 42 months and was now quitting to give the ruler a free hand to deal with elections. At the Shah's monthly Press conference on August 27 some news-paper editors alleged the elections—for the Majlis flower house)—had been rigged and demanded their annulment.

After saying that existing laws did not permit him to do so the Shah added: " But if the people really want it, I am prepared to exceed the limits of the law."

This was regarded by observers as an indication of the Shah's desire to create an atmosphere of closer unity between himself and the nation.

With the Mardom (People's) Party opposing Dr. Eghbal's Melliyun (Nationalist) Party, Persian electors chose between rival political parties for the first time in their history. Previously, for lack of organised parties they had to vote on the personal merits of candidates.

When he announced the election dates in July, the Premier said the voting would be "free and fair."

Polling started after a warning, on the Shah's orders, that those who illegally interfered would be severely punished.

On August 17, 200 people were injured when Persian troops fired on opposition party supporters who attacked a polling station.

75 villages distributed among farmers.—Last year 75 villages in Sari, Amol, Gorgan, Bobol and Bojnurd, covering a total area of 19,111,000 hectares were distributed among 6,204 farmers working these villages, according to Farmers Development and Co-operative Ban's balance sheet.

Since His Majesty the Shah has instructed that the distribution of the remaining portion of Crown lands should be completed by the end of 1961, efforts will be made to distribute these within the time limit indicated.

Iran to get Mirjava-Zahidan Sector.—It is learned that the Pakistan Government has decided to hand over to the Iranian Government in August the Mirjava-Zahidan railways sector.

The sector is situated in Iranian territory but has been run, and managed by Pakistan since the British gave independence to the country in 1947.

In February, 1959 an agreement was reached between railway officials of both governments to transfer this sector to the Iranian authorities.

The precise date for transfer will be announced later.

Gachsaran-Kharg Island pipeline.—Oil is now flowing through the 26-28-30 inch pipe from Gachsaran to huge tanks on Kharg Island. The flow of crude petroleum began on June 1st.

From Ganaveh Port to Kharg Island 37 kilometers of undersea pipes connect Gachsaran to the Island. It takes the oil 48 hours to flow between the two areas. The line has a capacity of 230 thousand barrels per day.

From Kharg Island 100,000 ton tankers will carry the crude oil to world markets.

Mr. Berlin, the general Managing Director of Iranian Oil Operating Companies has participated in the test operations. The pipeline will officially be inaugurated in the month of Mehr.

Japan to grant $30 *million credit to Iran.*—Japan has agreed in principle to supply Iran with a 30,000,000 United States dollars credit in the form of a deferred payment limit to finance the imports of Japanese goods, the Japanese Ministry of Finance said on June 23.

Japanese and Iranian officials in Teheran are now expected to discuss details of the deferred payment terms, including the interest rate,.

The request for the credit was made by the Iranian side in the course of current talks in Teheran for the conclusion of a new trade pact between the nations.

$30 *million proposed for Sport Centre in Iran.*—Iran may become a sports paradise of the Middle East if a proposed 30 million dollars construction programme there materializes.

Contract negotiation with a New York building firm are in their final stages and word is expected at any time that papers have been signed to permit constructions to start.

Tehran will become the central points of the programme with facilities ranging from two 18-hole golf courses to lawn bowing. Lesser facilities are planned for seven other cities.

Khaibar Khan Goodarzian, an Iranian oil man who is now a United States resident, is the key figure behind the protect which is being planned with the idea of attracting the Olympic games at some future time.

He is sports and financial adviser of the "Near East Sports Center," the name given to the huge Iranian operation.

Exploration of Radia Active material starts in Iran.—Exploratory operations for the discovery of radio active materials have been started in Kashan, Esfahan and Ordistan it was reported by the Ministry of Industries and Minerals.

The necessary ground exploration equipments have been purchased from the United States of America and have been released by the Iranian Customs on arrival.

The exploration and mining of such materials from "third grade mines are a government monopoly under a special law.

In addition to the above three regions studies have been completed in other areas also for the discovery of such materials.

Reports from other sources indicate that exploration work has also been started within a radius of 150 kilometers from Tehran. The report adds that the apparatus purchased for the purposes of exploration have been installed on motor vehicles so that while they are moving in a particular field, discoveries could be made if any materials are on the way.

Samples of the materials extracted from the mines are being sent to a separate laboratory.

Besides Tehran, the report says, many other parts of this country are believed to be rich in radio active materials and extensive studies to determine their mining are being undertaken.

Iran to become member of I.D.O.—Iran is to become a member of the International Development Organization as soon as her application for membership is approved, according to a reliable report. The Organization has been set up for the purpose of assisting developing countries.

The Plan Organization authorities hope that after becoming a member, Iran will be able to take advantage of their privileges such as long term credit grants at low interest rates.

At the moment, the Plan Organization is continuing loans from the U.S. Development Loans Fund. The loans are required for road making projects, the Dez Dam and the installation of port facilities at Bandar Abbas.

Latian Dam Enters Practical Phase.—With the approval of the bill relating to the Latian Dam agreement by the Majlis, the Latian Dam construction has now entered a practical stage.

Preparatory work relating to the dam started over a year ago by the Tehran Water Board and initial installations and branch roads have already been built. The Dam had originally been estimated at 27 million dollars and this estimate is some 12 million dollars cheaper than the previous estimate made by the Overseas Industrial Company. The Latian Dam contract has been awarded to the French Company that is building the Safid Rud dam.

Gas to Reach Shiraz.—Gas can be used in Shiraz this autumn and will replace fuel oil which is now being used in factories in Shiraz.

The Ministry of Industries and Mine authorities believe that with the replacement of gas with fuel oil, the National Iranian Oil Company

will be able to eliminate part of the loss they are currently incurring on the sale of fuel oil. They also believe that the consumption will be more economic than fuel oil.

The pipe laying operations for carrying gas to the Shiraz Fertilizer Plant are said to be making good progress and may be completed before the scheduled time.

Iran short of skilled personnel.—The shortage of skilled personnel to occupy technical positions has considerably increased during the last two years, according to a report prepared by the Supreme Economic Council's Secretariat.

While the shortage of man-power to occupy specialised and technical posts in industry was estimated at 12,500 in the year 1337 the figure for the current year is estimated 19,600 amounting to 62,600 in 1342 (1963).

The shortage chiefly felt in industries concerned with the conversion of raw materials. The relevant figures were 11,000 for 1337, 16,000 in the current year and will be 26,500 in 1342 (1963).

Iran's cost of living index in Ordibehesht.—(Prepared by the Economic Research Dept. of Bank Melli Iran). The Iran Cost of Living Index declined slightly (0.3 per cent) from Farvardin to Ordibehesht 1339. At 1548 (1315=100) the All-Items Index was 1.9 percent higher than 3 months ago and 2.6 per cent above one year ago. Over the month the Index for clothing went up 2.5 per cent, and the Miscellaneous Items index went up 0.9 per cent. However, seasonal declines for food items made the Food Index decline 1.0 per cent ; and the Fuel and Light Index also dropped 2.0 per cent.

Foods: Although the Food Index decreased by 1.0 per cent from last month, at 1397 (1315=100) it was still 2.1 per cent above three months ago, and 1.9 per cent above the same month of last year. Over the month the prices of onions, Pepper, Sadri Rice, and Wheat Flour, went up 23.2%, 4.5%, 1.6%, 1.1%, respectively. These increases in prices were more than offset by decreases in the prices of Cheese, 10.4 per cent ; Chicken 8.0 per cent ; Mutton, 7.6 per cent ; Eggs, 4.1 per cent ; Yogurt, 1.6 per cent ; and Animal Ghee, 0.3 per cent.

Rent: Rents were not surveyed in Ordibehesht. The latest Rent Index available was for Esfand 1338 which at 3666 (1315=100) was 0.6 per cent. over Azar 1338. The next Rent Index will be calculated in Khordad 1339.

Fuel and Light: At (1315=100) the Index for Fuel and Light was 2.0 per cent. lower than Farvardin 1339, 4.7 per cent lower than

three months previous, but still 10.3 per cent above the corresponding month of last year. From last month the prices of matches increased 1.8 per cent, and while the prices of Firewood stayed stable, the price of Charcoal declined 3.3 per cent. Also the free market price of Kerosene decreased 0.5 per cent.

Clothing: Despite the fact that at 1018 (1315=100) the clothing Index went up 2.5 per cent from a month ago, and 3.6 per cent from three months previous, it was still 0.6 per cent below Ordibehesht 1338. Most of the components of this group increased in price over the month as follows, Giveh shoes, 14.2 per cent; Boys' suit, 2.9 per cent, and Men's Suiting, Dress Fabric, and Shirting, over 3.0 per cent each. A 1.8 per cent decrease in prices of cotton socks and a 0.5 per cent decrease for leather shoes were reported.

Miscellaneous: At 1310 (1315=100) the Index for Miscellanous Items went up 0.9 per cent from last month, 5.6 per cent from three months previous, and 7.5 per cent from the same month of last year. Responsible for the rise from last month were increases in the prices of Bath Fee, 2.0 per cent, and Haircut, 0.6 per cent.

Iran Cost of Living Index
and Percentage Change by Commodity Group

Ordibehesht 1339 (1315=100)

Commodity group	*Ordibehesht Index* 1339	*Percentage Change from:* *Last month*	*3 month ago*	*1 year ago*
All-Items	1548	−0.3	+1.9	+ 2.6
Food	1397	−1.0	+2.1	+ 1.9
Rent (Esfand 1338 Index)	3666	—	+0.6*	+ 3.9**
Fuel and Light ...	773	−2.0	—4.7	+10.3
Clothing	1018	+2.5	×3.6	− 0.6
Miscellaneous	1310	+0.9	×5.6	+ 7.5

* Percentage change from Azar to Esfand 1338.

** Percentage change from Ordibehesht 1338 to Esfand 1338.

Brief description: The Bank Melli Iran 7-city composite cost of living index is based on monthly collection of retail prices (exclusive of rent) in 7 large cities of Iran; Tehran, Tabriz, Esfahan, Rasht, Hamadan, Karmanshah, and Meshed. Prices of 31 items are included in the index, weighted according to their importance in family expenditures as

determined by a survey in 1315, the base year of the present index. Prices used in the index calculation are simple averages of prices from the seven index cities. Rent date are collected in all cities every three months, at which time the monthly index reflects the changes in average rents which have occurred in the preceding three months.

Cartographic centre contributes to Development Schemes.—Little-known but important the National Cartographic Centre plays its unobtrusive role in the general scheme of things relating to the development of the country.

Situated on the outskirts of Tehran, the Centre is a largely U.N. financed body working under the guidance of a prominent engineer, Mr. Mohamed Ibrahimi who is helped by a team of U.N. experts.

The task of the Center is to prepare large scale maps of specific areas for definite development purposes. The Center supplies maps to the Plan Organisation, the Ministry of Irrigation and various town-planning bodies, amongst others.

The organisation has undertaken a tremendous training programme for local engineers and draughtsmen who could take independent charge of the complicated survey and cartography. Between 1955 and 1958 Mr. Ibrahimi claimed, the Center had trained 80 survey engineers with University background, 215 surveyors with High School background and 120 draughtsmen. Out of these, 415 men and 28 girls have been sent abroad for higher education.

The center is equipped with the necessary modern laboratory materials.

The Center has so far carried out surveys of 75 villages, 62 cities in the scale of 1:2500. For irrigation, mining and factory establishment the Center has mapped 360,000 in scales 1:1000 to 1:5000. The photogrammetric survey has been conducted in respect of 194 villages in two scales, 1:6000 (133,000 ha) and 1:2500 (1.316.000 ha).

Besides Tehran and Mashad, 9 harbours, Zahidan-Terah behar, 9 major islands in the Persian Gulf, two airports in Shiraz and Yazd and two areas for irrigation projects have been photographed with a total area of 140,000 sq. km. a little less than five times Belgium.

Archaeological Expedition.—Philadelphia Archaeologists have began their fourth expedition to northern Iran, site of the discovery in 1958 of the now famous Hasanlu Golden Bowl. The bowl was found in the arms of a warrior killed 2,500 years ago. This has been called the greatest archaeological find of recent years.

The present expedition is a joint one, composed of archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, and the Archaeological Service of Iran.

The expedition will continue excavations at the Hasanlu site with the objective this season of clearing a second major building in the area of the fortified palace, site of the bowl discovery. Recent dates obtained by the radio carbon process of the University of Pennsulvania Carbon 14 laboratory indicate that the fortification wall and palace buildings were built around 900 B.C. Further, deep explorations will be carried out in an effort to fill in the cultural history from 900 B.C. to 5000 B.C.

Part of the programme will include the use of new experimental field techniques pioneered by Dr. Froelich Rainey, Director of the University Museum.

The expedition will be directed by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., assistant curator of the Near Eastern Section of the University Museum.

A heir born to the throne of Iran.—On October 31 at Tehran a son was born to Queen Farah wife of the Shah of Iran. This happy event ended twenty-one years of suspense over the fate of the Pahlavi dynasty. The child was born in a charitable hospital of which Queen Farah is the patron.

Immediately after the event, the Imperial Guard fired a 41 gun salute. In a communique conveying the people's good wishes for the royal couple and the heir-apparent, Mr. Sharif Emami, Premier of Iran, declared a three-day period of rejoicing and suspension of work throughout Iran.

When the baby had been placed in a cradle in the special nursery reserved for him, Imáme Djomeh, the leading religious authority of Tehran, entered the room and gave the prince the ritual Muslim blessing reading a few verses of the Qur'an close to the ear of the baby. After the ceremony the Imam went to the adjoining room where the "official witness" of the imperial birth was waiting. Among them were the Prime Minister and the Presidents of the two Houses of Parliament. The Imam asked them to sign the last page of the Qur'an where the date and the time of the young prince's birth had been noted.

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince is to be called Cyrus-Reza.

OURSELVES

The members of the Iran Society convey their heartiest congratulations to Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran on the happy birth of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince on October 31, 1960.

The General Secretary of the Iran Society in a telegraphic message on the 1st November, 1960, conveyed the Society's greetings to Their Imperial Majesties through the Minister of the Royal Court, Teheran. His Excellency the Minister of the Royal Court thanked the members of the Society for their congratulatory message on behalf of Their Imperial Majesties.

The Society also sends its greetings and good-wishes to the people of the ancient land of Iran on this auspicious occasion and wish for the happiness and prosperity of the Baby Prince.

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Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., one of our Vice-Presidents and the Iran Society's representative in the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, attended the inaugural function of the Azad Bhavan, the headquarters of the I.C.C.R., at New Delhi on the 11th November, 1960. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, performed the opening ceremony.

The Prime Minister, other Cabinet Ministers and ministers of the Central Government, members of the diplomatic corps, delegates from various Indian universities and cultural institutions, and elite of the city attended the function.

Prof. Humayun Kabir, President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, while requesting the President to declare the Azad Bhavan open wished that the Bhavan may " serve as a centre for increasing friendship and contacts between peoples and serve the cause of peace, prosperity and progress for all mankind."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru performed the unveiling ceremony of an oil-portrait of the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the first President of the I.C.C.R., which will adorn the main hall of its headquarters.

* * * * * *

The Council of the Iran Society at its meeting held on the 9th December, 1960, elected His Excellency Mr. Mochfegh Kazemi, Ambassador for Iran in India, as a Patron of the Society.



The newly born heir-apparent to the throne of Iran and their Imperial Majesties



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad is seen coming to declare formally open the Azad Bhavan, after delivering the Inaugural address.



Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, unveils Maulana Azad's portrait.



President Prasad is seen coming out of the Azad Bhavan, after taking a round of the building. With him is Prof. Humayun Kabir, President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

Al-Haj Abul Fazl Hazeghi, Cultural Counsellor to the Iranian Embassy in New Delhi, was elected as an Honorary Member of the Society.

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The Bangya Granthagar Parishad (Bengal Library Association) extended an invitation to the Iran Society to send a representative to their meeting scheduled for the 13th November, 1960, at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta. At the request of the General Secretary, Mr. Abdus Subhan Khan, M.A. (Double), represented the Society at the meeting, when an ad-hoc committee was formed to open a Calcutta centre of the Parishad and Mr. Khan was selected a member thereof. Representative of various libraries attended this meeting, and the Secretary of the Association evinced keen interest in the library of the Iran Society.

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Mr. Mahmud Tafazzuli, a poet and a celebrated writer of Iran, who translated most of the works of our Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, into Persian, paid a visit to the Iran Society on 26th Dec. 1960. He is touring India on a study-visit as a guest of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi.

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With a profound sense of sorrow and grief we inform the members of the Iran Society the sudden passing away of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., Vice-President of the Society and the Editor-in-Chief of the *Indo-Iranica*, on the 21st December, 1960, in Calcutta. He died of heart failure. He was 53.

In his death the Iran Society has lost one of its ablest workers and sincerest admirers. The vacuum caused by his death is hard to fill up.

The Council of the Iran Society at an emergent meeting held on December 28, 1960, adopted the following resolution of condolence:—

> The Council of the Iran Society mourns deeply the sudden demise of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, s.j., one of the oldest Council members and sometime President of the Iran Society, and records its profound grief at this great loss to the Society."

A copy of the resolution has been forwarded to Rev. Fr. Rector of St. Xavier's, Calcutta.

The life-sketch and details of the funeral of the late Fr. Courtois appear elsewhere in this issue.

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OBITUARY

THE LATE REV. FR. VICTOR COURTOIS, S.J.

The Council of the Iran Society very much regrets to record the sudden demise of Rev. Fr. Victor Courtois, s.j., Vice-President of the Society and the Editor-in-Chief of the *Indo-Iranica*, in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 21st December, 1960, at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. He died of heart attack. He was 53.

The funeral took place the following day at St. John's Cemetery, Sealdah. His Grace the Most Rev. V. Dyer, the Archbishop of Calcutta, officiated at the burial service. A large number of distinguished colleagues, friends and admirers of the deceased watched the performance of the last rites.

The Iran Society was represented at the funeral by Dr. P. C. Chunder, President; Mr. M. A. A. Kashani, Vice-President; Dr. M. Ishaque, General Secretary; Mr. K. Adlkhah; Principal V. Poladian and Mr. K. M. Yusuf, Members of the Council; Mr. S. N. Modak, ex-President; and Mr. A. K. Burke, Member of the Board of Editors of the *Indo-Iranica*. Several other members of the Society were also present. Wreath were placed on the bier on behalf of the Iran Society and the General Secretary. The Society remained closed on the 21st and 22nd December, 1960, as a mark of respect to the memory of its beloved and revered Vice-President.

Born in 1907 in Belgium, Victor Courtois entered the Society of Jesus on the 23rd September, 1926. He came to India four years later and after staying in this country for about four years left for Beirut for Islamic studies. He was ordained priest in Kurseong on November 21, 1939, and became an Indian citizen after the independence.

He was an erudite priest and a widely travelled Father. He did grand work for the all-round development of the St. Xavier's College Library. He also built up a very specialised library of the Oriental Institute in Islamic studies, and spent most of his time in collecting rare books on Islam. His notable contribution was the bringing out of a quarterly bulletin *Notes on Islam* which contained a summary of all important events concerning the Islamic world in general and the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in particular.

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois's association with the Iran Society dates back to February 22, 1945, when he was elected a member, and

soon came into prominence. Since 1946 he was a Member of the Council of the Society. He was elected President for two successive terms in 1951 and 1952, and also occupied the Vice-Presidential chair for several terms. For several years he was a Member of the Board of Editors of the *Indo-Iranica* and became its Editor-in-Chief in March, 1960. For the past six years he represented the Iran Society in the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi. He was the nominee of the Society in the Abdul Halim Travelling Fellowship Committee of the University of Calcutta for three terms.

His remarkable contributions to the Iran Society were in very successfully organising the Al-Biruni and Avicenna Millenary Celebrations in 1952 and 1956 respectively. It was his initiative and efforts that enabled the Society to present to the intellegentsia the *Al-Biruni* and *Avicenna Commemoration Volumes*. Through his kind assistance a good number of books were purchased for the library section. He was a prolific writer and regularly contributed to the *Indo-Iranica* under the heading *The Persian Scene*. He was a dignified speaker as well.

In recognition of the services he rendered for promoting the cause of the Indo-Iranian culture, Rev. Fr. Courtois was decorated with a Silver Medal along with a *Sanad* from the Imperial Government of Iran in October, 1959.

The Iran Society deeply mourns his death as in him the Society has lost one of its greatest friends and ablest workers. He was a pillar of strength to the Society and the vacuum caused by his departure is difficult to fill up. Our environments imperceptibly change when people like him pass away.

Throughout his long association with the Society of Jesus and the Iran Society, none of his colleagues had ever the chance to witness the slightest sign of anger on his face. He was ever cheerful and obliging to every body till the last moment of his life. He was a friend of every body and specially the poor who received all kinds of help from him.

The Society offers its heartfelt condolence and sympathy to Rev. Fr. Rector of St. Xavier's, Calcutta, on the death of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.

May his soul rest in peace, Amen!

K. M. YUSUF.

BOOK REVIEWS

AṢLUL-UṢOOL by Syed Sháh 'Abdu'l-Qádir Mehrbán Fakhrí. Published by the University of Madras, 1959. Pp. 1-29+1-732 with 2 plates. Price: Rs. 30|- only.

The author of the *Aṣlul-Uṣool,* Syed Sháh 'Abdu'l-Qádir Mehrbán Fakhrí is a comparatively less-known scholar, poet and divine of the Deccan. He traced his origin to an illustrious Syed family of Persia that had migrated from Níshápúr and had settled at Kantur in the suburbs of Lucknow. His father Syed Sharífu'd-Dín Muḥammad Khán Naqví who was greatly honoured for his learning and piety, was appointed the Qáḍí of Khuldábád a place situated in the vicinity of Aurangábád, and consequently shifted to the Deccan. It was at Aurangábád that Fakhrí was born in the year 1143 A.H.|1730-31 A.D. After completing his education he took up the profession of teaching, and when his father died he was appointed to the post of Qáḍiship of Khuldábád. Meanwhile, Madras under the enlightened rule of Muḥammad 'Alí Wálájáh the Nawwáb of Carnatic had become a rallying point of scholars and theologians. Our author proceeded there and was received with great honour by the Nawwáb and his son Amíru'l-Umará. The Nawwáb conferred on Sháh 'Abdu'l-Qádir a *jágír* and a plot of land including a house and a mosque at Mylapore where the latter devoted the rest of his life to teaching and preaching till death overtook him in 1204 A.H.|1789-90 A.D. Most probably in this period of his life he compiled about half a dozen books of which the *Aṣlul-Uṣool* is by for the most important work.

The *Aṣlul-Uṣool* is a voluminous book in forty-seven chapters covering more than 700 pages. It deals with a number of topics relating to Qur'ánic and mystical sciences. Though written in Persian it is full of Arabic quotations from the *Qur'án,* the Traditions and from other celeberated writers on the subject. The intricate mystical problems, the purely technical style and the highly specialised use of ṣúfí terminology have made the book a difficult reading specially for the uninitiated. The author owes much to his celeberated predecessors like Fárábí, Avicenna, Ghazálí, Rhazes, Túsí, Ibnu'l-'Arabí, Jámí and 'Iráqí whom he quotes profusely and acknowledges with great respect. His familiarity with orthodoxy and with mysticism as well as his spiritual discipline have enabled him to grasp and to present successfully some of the most baffling problems of ṣúfí theosophy. The doctrine of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujúd* (Unity of Being) has found a prominent place in the book. The author, a devoted follower of the great Ibn'ul-'Arabí supports it with great enthusiasm, and quite naturally rejects the rival doctrine of *Waḥdatu'sh-Shuhúd* (Unity of Appearence). The book is throughout useful for advanced students of mysticism and Qur'ánic exegesis.

The editor of the book is the well-known figure in the literary circles of South India, Maulaví Muḥammad Yousuf Kokan 'Umrí, Reader, Dept. of Arabic, Persian and Urdú, University of Madras. He has based his edition on three Mss preserved (1) at the Library of Ḥaḍrat Makan, Vellore (2) at, the Ahlí-Islám Library, Madras and (3) in the possession of one of the descendents of the author, Mr. Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qádir Fakhrí. Unfortunately the first one of these which is the most reliable and which bears the name of the scribe and the date of its transcription (1217 A.H.) is badly damaged whereas the other

two though written in good hand are defective and full of omissions. The editor therefore had to do extra hard work for preparing the text.

Mauláví Yousuf Kokan deserves our congratulations and thanks for bringing this valuable book to light and for introducing its hitherto unknown author to the scholars of modern times. Thanks are also due for the Madras University for publishing this nice scholarly volume.

MASOOD HASAN

THE ART OF BYZANTIUM. Text and Notes by David Talbot Rice. Photographs by Max Hirmer. London: Thames and Hudson, 1959. Pages: 348 including 44 colour plates, 196 Monochrome Plates and 4 Text Figures. Size: 23½×30 cms. Price: £6. 6s. net.

This typographical masterpiece was inspired by the theme of the exhibition of Byzantine art held at Edinburgh and London in the course of 1958. But the book covers a much wider field than the one of the exhibition: many museum pieces which could not easily be transported because they were too big or too fragile or too precious have been reproduced here and carefully described by the author.

Byzantium on the shores of the sea of Marmara was an insignificant place when in A.D. 330 the Emperor Constantine made of it the capital of his empire. Although he gave his name to the city, the culture it represented has always been known by its original name of Byzantium—hence Byzantine—for the period extending from the foundation of the East Christian Empire until its overthrow by the Turks in 1453.

Byzantine art is thoroughly Christian and eastern in its inspiration. There is nothing frivolous about it. It shows a deep respect for the subject treated, is careful of details and lavish in the use of gold. There is a certain amount of stiffness in the mosaics because of the limitations imposed by the material used—and that stiffness of expression has passed into the içons and even the sculptures—but the general impression the work of art leaves is one of religious awe and admiration.

The survey follows roughly the chronological order at least for the monochrome plates. The items are very pleasantly displayed: photos of architectural remains help to situate in time the specimens of decorative arts reproduced in the book.

D. T. Rice has written the text of the book and added extensive notes explaining the plates in detail. The plates themselves reveal a high artistic sense and technique in their photographer, Prof. Max Hirmer, who has the cunning of bringing out all the relevant details of a piece of art; they are also a silent homage to the skill of the engravers and the printers.

V. COURTOIS, S.J.

BYZANTINE ICONS. By David Talbot Rice. London: Faber & Faber, 1959; Collection "The Faber Gallery of Oriental Art." Pages: 24. Size: 25×31 cms. Price: 15s.

Prof. Talbot Rice is a leading specialist on Byzantine Culture. He organized in 1958 a Byzantine Exhibition at Edinburgh and London bringing together rare items of Byzantine culture and art from various American and continental museums as well as from Russia. The book on Byzantine Art reviewed above was written on the occasion of the exhibition. But works on Byzantine art and paintings are not easily accessible to the general public because of their high

price. Faber and Faber, therefore selected a study on Byzantine Icons for their fine and popular gallery of Oriental art.

Byzantine icons and wall paintings do not have the finish of the works by Italian artists; they are rather reminiscent of Egyptian tomb paintings, but they do not lack attraction. Their somewhat childlike simplicity and freshness of treatment have a charm of their own; they inspire religious respect as well as devotion to the on-looker.

In the Introduction to the book, Prof. Rice gives a general and brief survey of Byzantine painting and points to the various factors which have influenced it; he then describes ten select reproductions of icons some of them very beautiful like the Virgin and the Child (plate 10).

The work is of the standard of Faber's gallery and that means excellent.

V. COURTOIS, S.J.

صحف ابراهیم وفات اورا ۱۰۲۱ هجری نوشته و این هر دو اشتباه است، از اشعار اوست:

بر مزار ما غریبان نه چراغی نه گلی

هرطوف پروانهٔ درطوف و هر سو بلبلی

علاوه براین دو شاعر مولانا تجلی گیلانی یا لاهیجی هم بوده که در هند نشو و نما یافت و در خدمت عبدالرحیم خانخانان (۹۶۴ - ۱۰۳٦ = ۱۵٦٦ - ۱٦۲۷) و شاهزاده خرم (شاهجهان ۱۰۳۷ - ۱۰٦۸ = ۱٦۲۸ - ۱٦۵۸) بسر برد و بایران مراجعت کرد . وی اول "خاوری" تخلص میکرد . از اشعار اوست :

عشاق راز عشق برمزی اد اکنند

عرض نیاز از نگه آشنا کنند

مؤلف تذکرهٔ حسینی ملا علی رضا تجلی را بامیر محمد حسین کاشی اشتباه کرده است . او میگوید که "تجلی" با نظیری همصحبت بوده و نیز مینویسد که وی در سال ۱۰۲۰ هجری در گذشته است . ولی چون اسم کامل این تجلی ملا علی تجلی کاشی مینویسد پس ظاهر میشود که وی بین دو شاعر فرقي نگذاشته است .

همچو قمری پر برآرد نقش ما در هر قدم
بسکه جان بخشد خرام سرو خوش رفتار تو

رباعیات تجلی معانی تازه و بدیع را در بر ندارد چنانکه در رباعی ذیل خواهیم‌دید :

هرکس دلش از مال جهان مسرور است
از راحت و عیش در حقیقت دور است
ای خواجه تو انئی اسباب جهان
چون فربهی گزیدن زنبور است

نسخهٔ خطی دیوان تجلی در دانشگاه علیگره (شماره ۱۹۱٦۵۵۱۱ / ۴٦) شامل غزلیات و سیزده رباعی میباشد . از آثار "تجلی" مثنوی معراج الخیال نیز میباشد که دارای دویست و سی و هفت بیت است و نسخهٔ خطی آن در کتابخانهٔ بودلین (۱۱۳۸) است . نسخهٔ خطی دیوان تجلی در کتابخانهٔ مجلس (۱۱۸۵) شامل پانصد بیت است .

در آن زمان چند شاعر باسم "تجلی" میزیسته‌اند . یکی ملا علی رضا "تجلی" و دیگر مولانا میر محمد حسین تجلی کاشی، تجلی کاشی در سال ۱۰۱٦ هجری (۸-۱٦۰۷ میلادی) از ایران بلاهور و آگره رسیده بگجرات رفت و در آنجا مولانا نظیری مانند پدر تربیت ویرا بعهده گرفت و دیوان ویرا که هزار بیت بوده مدون کرده بدیوان خود ضمیمه کرد. تجلی کاشی چندی در اردوی شاهزاده دانیال (متوفی بسال ۱۰۱۲ هجری = ۱٦۰۳ میلادی) خدمت میکرده‌است، برطبق گفتهٔ تذکرهٔ کاتب تجلی کاشی از راه دریا بدکن رسیده بالآخره وی در سال ۱۰۱۹ هجری (۱۱-۱٦۱۰ میلادی) بسن بیست و هفت سالگی در احمد آباد گجرات درگذشت، مؤلف باغ معانی وفات میر محمد حسین تجلی کاشی را در سال ۱۰۴٦ هجری و مؤلف

هر دو عالم را بچشم خویشتن برهم زدن
تا برای دیدنش طـرح نگاهی ریختم

* * *

خیالش چون شود خمیازه فرسای برو دوشم
لبالب میشود چون هاله از مهتاب آغوشم

* * *

در عشقبازی ما و تو چون بلبل و گل در چمن
از گریه‌ام خندیده تو وز خنده‌ات نالیده من
هی خوش آنساعت که من بینم ترا با خویشتن
بند قبا بگشوده تو در بوی گل غلطیده من
دلدار اگر پرسد ز تو حال تجلی را بگو
خوش طرّه تو خوشخنده تو ژولیده من شوریده من

در آن دوره تمثیلات رواج زیادی پیدا کرده بود و "تجلی" هم ازین صنعت استفاده کرده و تمثیلات خوب در اشعارش گنجانیده است، پس میگوید :

نامهٔ شوق چه حاجت بحدی خوان دارد
چون هوا راه بدل یافت نفس میگردد

* * *

پستی بود آخر اثر دولت سرشار
بر خاک فتد میوه ز بسیار رسیدن

در دورهٔ رواج سبک هندی پیچیدگئ خیال و افکار غیر واقعی و تصوری معمولاً در اشعار گنجیده میشده و اشعار "تجلی" هم پر از عبارات نا مفهوم و مشکل میباشد، سپس میگوید :

روزگارم چون تجلی بسکه برهم خورده است
قفل وسواس جهانی گشته است ایام من

مؤلف تذکرۀ نصر آبادی مینویسد : "تجرید.. محمد شریف نام داشت... از کدخدا زادگان اصفهان است، از کسب موروثی دست برداشت و بتحصیل علوم... مشغولست، خط نسخ تعلیق را خوب مینویسد... در اوایل شوق بشعر بسیار داشت... الحال ان شوق نمانده" (۱)، ولی مؤلف مزبور آمدن این تجرید بهند را ذکر نمیکند.

"تجلی" از شعرای برجسته دورۀ شاهجهان است و غزلیات وی دارای اشعار روان و سلیس و فصیح و حاوی مضامین لطیف میباشد چنانکه در ابیات ذیل خواهیم دید :

خاک و گل آب و گهر و آتش خورشید
درهم بسرشتند شد اندام تو پیدا

* * *

مپرس ای همنشین تقریب قتلم
نگاهی کردهام جرمم همین است

* * *

بسنگی در حرم شد جلوه گر بتخانه پیدا شد
ز سنگ بت شراری جست و آتشخانه پیدا شد

* * *

چون شراب عشق را در جام دلها ریختند
قطرۀ زان میچکید و طرح دنیا ریختند

* * *

عاصیان از رحمتش در بحر شاهی خفته اند
زاهدان در انفعال بیگناهی خفته اند

* * *

ما روز و شب عبادت میخانه کردهایم
تسبیح از خط لب پیمانه کردهایم

---

۱ تذکرۀ نصر آبادی صفحه ۳۹۸ .

از میان شعرای معاصر و بزرگان خود ''تجلی'' از عرفی (م ۹۹۹ = ۱ - ۱۵۹۰) و صایب (م ۱۰۸۱ = ۱-۱۶۷۰) احترام میکند و بر اشعار ایشان فخر میکند پس میسراید :

از تجلی جوی مثل آنکه عرفی گفته است
روی دریا سلسبیل و قعر دریا آتش است

*　　*　　*

نالهٔ زار تجلی ست که عرفی میگفت
تا بلب میرسد از ضعف نفس میگردد

*　　*　　*

ای خوش آنوقت تجلی که چو صایب شب وصل
مغرب بوسهٔ من مشرق گفتار شود

*　　*　　*

تجلی این جواب آن غزل باشد که صایب گفت
نگین را در فلاخن میکند بیتابی نامم

از میان معاصران خود تجلی '' تجرید '' را خیلی دوست میداشت و اشعار ویرا تضمین کرده‌است :

ای تجلی شعر از تجرید ما بشنو که گفت
مستی از ما بود و می در جام دریا ریختند

و چون از ایران بهند آمده به بنگاله رفت' تجلی در فراق وی بیتاب گشت و گفت :

در خراب آباد ایران هستیم برباد رفت
تا تجلی بخشش تجریدم سوی بنگاله شد

مؤلف تذکرهٔ نصر آبادی مینویسد : "تجرید... محمد شریف نام داشت... از کدخدا زادگان اصفهان است، از کسب سوروشی دست برداشت و بتحصیل علوم... مشغولست، خط نسخ تعلیق را خوب مینویسد... در اوایل شوق بشعر بسیار داشت... الحال ان شوق نمانده" (۱)، ولی مؤلف مزبور آمدن این تجرید بهند را ذکر نمیکند.

"تجلی" از شعرای برجسته دورهٔ شاهجهان است و غزلیات وی دارای اشعار روان و سلیس و فصیح و حاوی مضامین لطیف میباشد چنانکه در ابیات ذیل خواهیم دید :

خاک و گل آب و گهر و آتش خورشید
درهم بسرشتند شد اندام تو پیدا

* * *

مپرس ای همنشین تقریب قتلم
نگاهی کردهام جرمم همین است

* * *

بسنگی در حرم شد جلوه گر بتخانه پیدا شد
ز سنگ بت شراری جست و آتشخانه پیدا شد

* * *

چون شراب عشق را در جام دلها ریختند
قطرهٔ زان میچکید و طرح دنیا ریختند

* * *

عاصیان از رحمتش در بحر شاهی خفته اند
زاهدان در انفعال بیگناهی خفته اند

* * *

ما روز و شب عبادت میخانه کردهایم
تسبیح از خط لب پیمانه کردهایم

---

۱ تذکرهٔ نصر آبادی صفحه ۳۹۸ .

از میان شعرای معاصر و بزرگان خود "تجلی" از عرفی (م ۹۹۹ = ۱۵۹۰) و صایب (م ۱۰۸۱ = ۱۶۷۰) احترام میکند و بر اشعار ایشان فخر میکند پس میسراید :

از تجلی جوی مثل آنکه عرفی گفته است
روی دریا سلسبیل و قعر دریا آتش است

*　　*　　*

نالهٔ زار تجلی ست که عرفی میگفت
تا بلب میرسد از ضعف نفس میگردد

*　　*　　*

ای خوش آنوقت تجلی که چو صایب شب وصل
مغرب بوسهٔ من مشرق گفتار شود

*　　*　　*

تجلی این جواب آن غزل باشد که صایب گفت
نگین را در فلاخن میکند بیتابی نامم

از میان معاصران خود تجلی " تجرید " را خیلی دوست میداشت و اشعار ویرا تضمین کردهاست :

ای تجلی شعر از تجرید ما بشنو که گفت
مستی از ما بود و می در جام دریا ریختند

و چون از ایران بهند آمده به بنگاله رفت، تجلی در فراق وی بیتاب گشت و گفت :

در خراب آباد ایران هستیم برباد رفت
تا تجلی بخش تجریدم سوی بنگاله شد

پدر ملا تجلی که مرد اعمی و دهقان بوده برای دیدار از پسرش بهند آمده‌بود وقتیکه بملا رسید فضلا و علما در مجلس ملا نشسته بودند، چون ملا پدر خود را دید باحترام از جای خود برخاست و پدر را درکنار خود نشانید و چون حاضرین نمیدانستند که وی پدر ملا است از اینکه وی بشخص تازه وارد ژنده پوش احترام زیادی گذاشت تعجب کردند.

پس از مدتی تجلی بایران باز گشت و در اصفهان مقرب و منشی شاه عباس ثانی (۱۰۵۲-۱۰۷۷ = ۱۶۴۲-۱۶۶۷) گردید. شاه مزبور در سال ۱۰۷۲ هجری (۲-۱۶۶۱ میلادی) قریه‌ای نزد اردکان باو واگذار کرد و وی در آنجا اقامت گزید. اما در سال ۱۰۸۳ هجری (۳-۱۶۷۲ میلادی) شاه سلیمان (۱۰۷۷-۱۱۰۵ = ۱۶۶۷-۱۶۹۳) او را نزد خود طلب کرد و از آنوقت ببعد در اصفهان اقامت گزید. "تجلی" بسن کهولت رسید چنانکه در ضمن اشعارش از پیری و ناتوانی خود شکایت میکند:

حسرت پیری نگردد کم از اسباب جهـــان
صد گهـر که میتواند کار یک ویران کند

بالآخره "تجلی" در سال ۱۰۸۸ هجری (۱۶۷۷-۱۶۷۸ میلادی) درگذشت. مؤلف نشتر عشق سال وفات "تجلی" ۱۰۹۳ هجری مینویسد.

مؤلف قصص الخاقان "تجلی" را از علماء و شعراء معاصر خویش میداند و صاحب فانوس خیال میگوید: "شعرای زمان در سخنوری مسلمش داشتند" و مؤلف صحف ابراهیم مینویسد: "گفتارش بطرز شوکت بخاری[1] است" و صاحب مخزن میگوید: "معنی‌های تازه .... فکرهای بلند و قافیه‌های تنگ و ردیف‌های غریب دارد." و "تجلی" نیز بهنر خود در شاعری فخر میکند:

شـکّر شعـــر تجلی یافت در ایـران رواج
طوطیان از بال خود در هند دفتر ساختند

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۱ در سال ۱۱۰۷ هجری (۶-۱۲۹۵ میلادی) درگذشته‌است.

تجلی

دکتر امیر حسن عابدی، استاد زبان فارسی در دانشگاه دهلی

ملا علی رضا متخلص به " تجلی " از اردکان فارس است و پدرش کدخدا بوده، اردکان یکی بخشهای شهرستان شیراز میباشد . البته دهستان دیگری نیز بهمین نام در شهرستان یزد قرار دارد و بدین علت مؤلف تذکرهٔ کاتب "تجلی" را یزدی الاصل مینویسد . و این اشتباه است زیرا این شاعر خود را از شیراز میگوید و جا نشین "عرفی" میداند :

چو شد گر همچو عرفی بلبلی گمشد ز هندوستان[1]
که اینک چون تجلی باز[2] از شیراز میآید

نیز مؤلف مخزن الغرایب ویرا شیرازی گفته است .

"تجلی" از اردکان باصفهان رفته شاگرد آقای حسین خوانساری (متوفی بسال ۱۰۹۹ هجری ۸-۱۶۸۷ میلادی) گشت و پس از پایان تحصیلات در عهد شاهجهان (۱۰۳۷-۱۰۶۸ = ۱۶۲۸-۱۶۵۸) از شیراز بهند رسید، پس از رسیدن باین کشور "تجلی" معلم نواب ابراهیم خان (در سال چهل و ششم جلوس عالمگیری درگذشته است) و مصاحب پدرش امیرالامراء علی مردان خان (متوفی بسال ۱۰۶۷ هجری مطابق ۱۶۵۷ میلادی) پسر گنج علی خان زیک گردید، مؤلف خلاصة الکلام آمدن "تجلی" بهند در عهد عالمگیر (۱۰۶۸-۱۱۱۸ = ۱۶۵۸-۱۷۰۷) نوشته است، و این اشتباه است . زیرا "تجلی" پس از رسیدن باین کشور معلم ابراهیم خان شد و به ابراهیم‌خان در عهد شاهجهان در سال ۱۰۶۳ هجری (۱۶۵۲-۱۶۵۳ میلادی) عنوان خان اعطا شد . پس حتماً بایستی دورهٔ شاگردی تجلی در عهد شاهجهان تمام شده باشد و بنابر این ورود تجلی بهند در عهد شاهجهان مسلم میباشد .

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۱ ن. ل : کم دید هندوستان - ۲ ن. ل : باری از شیراز -

ما بهـا و خونبهـا را یافتیـم — جـانب جـان باختن بشتـافتیـم

عاشقان را هر زمانی مردنی است — مردن عشـاق خود یک نوع نیست

او دو صد جان دارد از نور هدی — وان دو صد را میکند هر دم فـدا

آزمودم مرگ من در زندگی است — چون رهم زاین زندگی پایندگی است

اقتـلونی اقتـلونی یـا ثقـات — ان فی قتـلـی حیـوة فی حیـوة

و بالاخره همین عشق است که سالک را سر انجام بمعشوق خویش میرساند و بمقام فنای فی‌الله رهبری میکند ده :

بار دیگر بایدم جستن ز جـو

کل شیئی هـالک الا وجـهـه

—— ○*○ ——

و بوسیله آن همه مشکلات زندگی را بآسانی و راحتی تحمل میکند و با نیروی محبت تلخ‌ترین و نا گوارا ترین پیش آمدها در مذاق وی چون شربتی شیرین و گوارا بیرون میآید :

از محبت دردها صافی شود	وز محبت دردها شافی شود
از محبت خارها گل میشود	وز محبت سرکه‌ها مل میشود
از محبت نار نوری میشود	وز محبت دیو حوری میشود
از محبت حزن شادی میشود	وز محبت غول هادی میشود
از محبت مرده زنده میشود	وز محبت شاه بنده میشود

آری با نیروی محبت و عشق سالک میتواند درمیدان کارزار زندگی سرانجام فاتح و فیروز بیرون آید و همواره هدف اصلی خود را که وصول بمقام قرب آلهی است دنبال کند :

عشق را با پنج و با شش کار نیست	مقصد او جز که جذب یار نیست
عشق را پانصد پر است و هر پری	از فراز عرش تا تحت الثری
شرح از عشق ار من بگویم بر دوام	صد قیامت بگذرد و آن نا تمام
هرچه گویم عشق را شرح و بیان	چون بعشق آیم خجل باشم ازان
چون قلم اندر نوشتن میشتافت	چون بعشق آمد قلم بر خود شکافت
در نگنجد عشق در گفت و شنید	عشق دریائی است قعرش ناپدید
قطره‌های عشق را نتوان شمرد	هفت دریا پیش آن بحر است خرد

سر انجام سالک فنای فی‌الله است و با شهپر عشق بآنمقام پرواز میکند. از آنجائیکه مجاز مقدمه حقیقت است برای سالک عشق مجازی نیز مقدمه وصول بعشق حقیقی است و آن عشق پاک و عشق بحقیقت و عشق بذات بیزوال پروردگار است :

عشق آن زنده گزین کو باقی است	وز شراب جانفزایت ساقی است
عشق آن بگزین که جمله اولیا	یافتند از عشق او کار و کیا
در هوای عشق حق رقصان شوند	همچو قرصی بدر بی نقصان شوند

سخت گیرد خامها مر شاخ را زانکه در خامی نزیبد کاخ را
چون بپخت و گشت شیرین لب گزان سست گیرد شاخها را بعد ازان
چون ازان اقبال شیرین شد دهان سرد شد بر آدمی ملک جهان
سخت‌گیری و تعصب خامی است تا جنینی کار خون آشامی است

روزی سالک از حق است و بیشتر آنها روزی معنوی است

سالک چون توانست از مراحل نخستین سلوک بگذرد و چشم دل او بنور حق روشن گردد هر روز به نعمتی تازه متنعم میشود و اعضاء و جوارح او همه از این نعمتهای خدائی بهره برمیگیرد و این مزیت باز یکی از فیضهای الٓهی است که بوی افاضه میگردد :

لقمه بخشی‌اید از هر کس بکس حلق بخشی کار یزدان است و بس
حلق بخشد جسم را و روح را حلق بخشد بهر هر عضوی جدا
مر یقین را چون عصا او حلق داد تا بخورد آن هر خیالاتی که زاد
پس معانی را چو اعیان حلقهاست رازق حلق معانی هم خداست

سالک تا وصول بمقصود از سلوک نایستد و همواره در جد و جهد و سعی و طلب باشد. شخص سالک بمدد استاد و پیر خود پیوسته در راه سلوک قدم میزند و تا وصول بمقام قرب حق از جد و جهد و سعی و طلب باز نایستد و سر انجام دامن مقصود را بچنگ آرد .

سرمایهٔ سالک ایمان است و اخلاص و توکل و صبر و شکر و تسلیم و رضا و خشوع و تضرع و قناعت و انفاق و تواضع و مروت و رافت و رحم و بردباری و تحمل که با مدد آنها بر دشمنان سعادت و کامیابی و وصول بمقصود یعنی هوا و هوس و شهوت و غضب و خود بینی و ظلم و حسد و نفاق و دروغ و غفلت و قساوت و ریا و جزع و تکبر و اسراف پیروز میگردد .

سلسله جنبان زندگی سالک محبت و عشق است که در هر حال و همه جا و با همه کس با این داروی حیات بخش و اکسیر سعادت افزای زندگی مواجه میگردد

صد کتاب ارهست جز یک باب نیست — صد جهت را قصد جز محراب نیست
چیست توحید خدا آموختن — خویشتن را پیش واحد سوختن
گر همی خواهی که بفروزی چو روز — هستی همچون شب خود را بسوز
کل شیئی هالک الا وجهه — چون نه‌ای در وجه او هستی مجو
زانسوی حس عالم توحید دان — گر یکی خواهی بدان جانب بران
از نظرگاه است ای مغز وجود — اختلاف مؤمن و گبر و جهود

در نگاه سالک هرچه در عالم وجود است با زبان حال مشغول تسبیح حق است هرچند ما بزبان آنها آشنا نباشیم که " و ان من شیئی الا و یسبح بحمده و لیکن لا تفقهون تسبیحهم " آفرینش همه تنبیه خداوند دل است :

دل ندارد که ندارد بخداوند اقرار

و نقشهائیکه بر دیوار جهان است همه دست ساخت صانع حکیم است :

این همه نقش عجب بر در و دیوار وجود
هرکه فکرت نکند نقش بود بر دیوار

و هر دیده‌ایکه آثار قدرت و صنع ویرا نه بیند فردا کور خواهد بود . " من کان فی هذه اعمی فهو فی الآخرة اعمی و اضل سبیلا ":

هرکس امروز نبیند اثر قدرت دوست
غالب آنست که فرداش نباشد دیدار

برای سالک زندگی در این جهان سهل میگردد

سختیها و نا راحتیهای زندگی بیشتر مولود جهل و تعصب است و چون سالک با دستگیری و دستیاری پیر روشن ضمیر دیدهٔ واقع بین و استعداد دریافت حقیقت پیدا میکند این سختیها همه بنظر او سهل و آسان و قابل تحمل میآید و حتی مرگ که در ظاهر تلخ بنظر میرسد در کام او شیرین میگردد :

این جهان همچون درخت است ای کرام — ما بر آن چون میوه‌های نیم خام

دستگیری پیر است که سالک را از این خطر بزرگ میرهاند و در سیر و سلوک بسوی خدا مدد میکند و از تشتت و پراگندگی میرهاند و وجهه همت را یکی میسازد :

غلام همت آنم که پای بست یکی است
بجـانبی متعلق شـد از هـزار برست

واضح است تا وقتیکه بر صفحهٔ دل خطوط و ارقام گوناگون منقوش و مرقوم باشد وصول بمقصود که راه یافتن بعالم وحدت است میسر نیست :

خـاطـرت کی رقم فیض پذیرد هیهات
مگـر از نقش پراگنده ورق ساده کنی

و تنها در این صورت است که سالک بهر چه مینگرد و بهر جا رو میکند جز محبوب نمی‌بیند :

بهر چه مینگـرم صورت تو میبینـم
در این میان همه در چشم من تو میآئی

و یار بی‌پرده بر در و دیوار برابر چشم سالک تجلی میکند و همه چیز با زبان حال باو میگویند :

که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او
وحـده لا الـه الا هـو

راه یافتن سالک از عالم کثرت بعالم وحدت

پس از اینکه سالک با دستگیری و بهمت و یمن نفس پیر از مرحله نفس پرستی خارج و بعالم حق‌پرستی راه یافت هرچه میبیند و بر هرچه مینگرد و از هرچه میشنود تنها خاطر او از همه مشاهدات و محسوسات و مسموعات متوجه یکی است زیرا بخوبی درک میکند که "لا مؤثر فی‌الوجود الا هو" جز ذات بیمثال پروردگار مؤثری در جهان هستی نیست و بلکه جز او موجودی نیست و قیام هستی نماها همه باو است :

غیـر واحـد هـرچـه بینی انـدرین بیگمـانی جملـه را بت دان یقیـن

قد رجعنا من جهاد الاصغریم با نبی اندر جهاد اکبریم
سهل شیری دان که صفها بشکند شیر آن باشد که خود را بشکند
تا شود شیرخدا از عون او وا رهد از نفس و از فرعون او

حذر از فریب نفس

بزرگترین خطر سالک فریب نفس است زیرا در حالیکه سالک گمان میکند که بعبادت سرگرم است نفس مکار و غدار در مقام گمراهی وی طرحها میریزد و نقشه ها میکشد و دامها میگسترد :

گر نماز و روزه میفرمایدت
نفس غدار است فکری بایدت

چه بسیار سالک می‌اندیشد که با مختصر ریاضتی بر نفس خود تسلط یافته و اورا رام کرده است ولی هیهات :

نفس اژدرهاست آن کی مرده است از غم بی آلتی افسرده است
اژدها را دار در برف فراق هین مکش اورا بگرمای عراق
تا فسرده می بود آن اژدهات لقمه اوئی چه او یابد نجات
می‌کش اورا در جهاد و در قتال مرد وار الله یجزیک الوصال

بزرگترین خطر

در راه سالک خطرهای بسیار است و بزرگترین آنها خود پرستی و انانیت است که کفر محض شمرده میشود :

فکر خود و رای خود در مذهب رندی نیست
کفر است در این مذهب خود بینی و خود رائی

یکی از خصوصیات تسلیم به پیر و راهبر آنست که سالک را از خودپرستی نجات میبخشد:

گر جان به تن ببینی مشغول کار او شو هر قبله‌ایکه بینی بهتر ز خود پرستی
تا علم و عقل بینی بی‌معرفت نشینی یک نکته ات بگویم خودرا مبین که رستی

پیـــر باشـد نـردبـان آسمـان   تیـر پران از که گردد از کمـان
دست را مسپار جـز در دست پیـر   حق شده است آندست اورا دستگیر
چونکـه دست خود بدست او دهی   پس ز دست آکلان بیـرون جهی
دست تو از اهـل آن بیعت شود   کـه یدالله فوق ایدیهـم بود
مسجـدی کو انـدرون اولیـاست   سجـده گاه جمله است آنجا خداست

چه بسا مقام پیران با چشم ظاهر بین ما دیده نشود ولی باید متذکر باشیم که :

بر در میکده رندان قلنـدر باشنـد   که ستانند و دهند افسر شاهنشاهی
خشت زیر سر و بر تارک هفت اختر پای   دست قدرت نگر و منصب صاحب جاهی

و بهمین جهت است که این سفارش بزرگان را باید همواره با گوش هوش شنید :

قطع این مرحله بی همرهی خضر مکن
ظلمات است بترس از خطر گمراهی

جهـاد با نفس

نخستین قدمی را که پیر و راهبر جلو پای سالک و راهرو میگذارد جهاد با نفس است زیرا نفس ما دشمن بزرگ یا بزرگترین دشمن ماست چنانکه فرموده بزرگترین راهنمای ما است که : "اعدی عدوک نفسک التی بین جنبیک" و پیروزی بر این دشمن بسیار دشوار است :

ایشهان کشتیـم مـا خصـم برون   مانـد خصمی زان بتـر در اندرون
کشتن این کار عقل و هوش نیست   شیـر باطن سخـره خـرگوش نیست
دوزخ است این نفس و دوزخ اژدهاست   کو بدریاها نگـردد کم و کاست
هـفت دریا را درآشـامـد هنـوز   کـم نـگـردد آتش این خلق سوز
این قـدم حق را بـود کورا کشـد   غیر حق خود کی کمـان او کشد
قوتی خـواهـم ز حق دریا شـکاف   تا بنـاخن برکنـم این کـوه قاف
چـونکـه وا کشتـم ز پیکار برون   روی آوردم بـه پیـکار درون

غضب آماده اند . تنها یک توفیق خیر لازم است که شامل حال شود و شوقی در دل و رغبتی در خاطر پدید آید و ما را بآنان نزدیک سازد و از فیض صحبتشان مستفیض نماید .

سیر و سلوک

دعوت عارفان ربانی بر سیر و سلوک است . یعنی برای نجات از گرفتاریهای عالم طبیعت کوشش کنیم و با یاری راهبر از خودی قدم بیرون نهیم و بسوی حق حرکت کنیم .

راهنما و پیر روشن رای

دل که آئینه شاهی است غباری دارد
از خدا میطلبم صحبت روشن رائی

نخستین وظیفه سالک دست زدن بدامان راهنما و پیر است :

هر که خواهد همنشینی با خدا — گو نشیند در حضور اولیا
در بدر میگرد و میرو کو بکو — گنج پنهانی ز درویشی بجو
از حضور اولیاء گر بگسلی — تو هلاکی زانکه جزوی نه کلی
رو بخسپ اندر پناه مقبلی — بو که ازادت کند صاحبدلی
چون شوی دور از حضور اولیا — در حقیقت گشته‌ای دور از خدا
تا توانی ز اولیاء رو برمتاب — جهد کن والله اعلم بالصواب

بدون داشتن راهبر و راهنما و توسل و تسلیم بوی راهروی و سلوک سودی نمیدهد و مارا بمقصد نمیرساند :

کور با رهبر به از تنها یقین — زان یکی ننگ است و صد ننگ است ازاین
غیر پیر استاد و سر لشکر مباد — پیر گردون نی ولی پیر رشاد
شرط تسلیم است نی کار دراز — سود ندهد در ضلالت ترکتاز
من نجویم زین سپس راه اثیر — پیر جویم پیر جویم پیر پیر

یک زمانی صحبتی با اولیا ـ بهتر از صد ساله طاعت بیریا

از قلم دانشمند ارجمند فاضل محترم جناب آقای ابوالفضل حاذقی
رایزن فرهنگی سفارت کبرای ایران در دهلی‌نو

آقای رئیس و حضار محترم ! اسشب در اینجایگاه شریف گرد آمده‌ایم تا ششصد و پنجاه و پنجمین سال عرس و یاد بود عارف بزرگ اسلام خواجه نظام‌الدین اولیا محبوب آلهی را بپا کنیم .

این توفیق خیر را مردان خدا' خواه در حال زندگی در این جهان و یا دوران بعد از منتقل شدن بجهان دیگر' همیشه نصیب ما میکنند که دور هم جمع شویم و ساعتی را از وقت عزیز و عمر زود گذر خود بیاد خدا باشیم و از راهیکه اینان به پیش پای ما باز کرده‌اند قدمی بسوی خدا برداریم. راه ما بسوی خدا و برای رسیدن باو خیلی نزدیک است و چنانکه خود فرسوده " و نحن اقرب الیه من حبل الورید " ولی بگفته سعدی رح :

دوست نزدیک تر از من بمن است   و این عجبتر که من از وی دورم
چکنم با که توان گفت که دوست   در کنـار من و من مهجـورم

اولیاء و مردمان راه حق مأموریتشان برای همین است که ما را از گرفتاریهای گوناگون این جهان خلاصی بخشند و به یمن همت و نفس پاک مسیحائی خود مس وجود ما را کیمیا کنند و از چاه هوا و هوس و شهوت و غضب و آلودگیهای خود خواهی و خود پرستی و حرص و جاه طلبی بیرون کشند و از قید و بند مادیات که زندان عالم طبیعت است خلاصی بخشند و خلاصه از خود دور و بخدا نزدیک نمایند .
این راد مردان آزاده که با سر پنجه ریاضت و مراقبه و توجه و استغراق بحق از انانیت رهائی یافته و بر غرائز بشري و طبیعی تسلط پیدا کرده‌اند همواره برای دستگیری از گمراهان وادي هوا و هوس و راهنمائي سرتشنگان بیابان شهوت و